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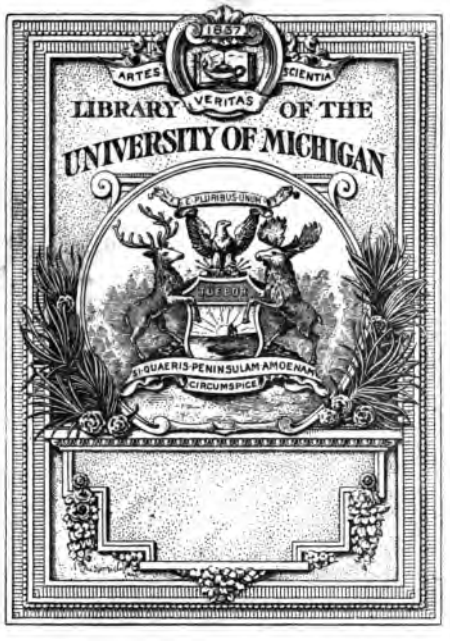
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MY CAMPAIGNS IN AMERICA.

MY CAMPAIGNS IN AMERICA:

A JOURNAL KEPT BY

COUNT WILLIAM DE DEUX-PONTS,

1780-81.

Translated from the French Manuscript,

With an Introduction and Notes,

BY

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

BOSTON:
J. K. WIGGIN AND WM. PARSONS LUNT.
1868.

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1868,
By Samuel A. Green,
in the Clerk's office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

TO THE

OFFICERS AND MEN

OF THE

TWENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT

OF

MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS,

Who were in service at some of the places mentioned in these pages, this record of a Military Campaign is affectionately inscribed by their Comrade and Surgeon during more than three years of the Great Rebellion.

INTRODUCTION.

WHILE strolling on one of the quays in Paris, in June, 1867, I picked up this journal at a second-hand book stall. The owner knew nothing more of its previous history than that it was bought a few weeks before, in the province of Lorraine. It purports to have been written by "Conte G. de Deux Ponts," and this is fully confirmed by the evidence drawn from its pages. The volume had apparently been prized, as it was handsomely bound in green morocco, and ornamented with uncommon taste. A cover or cap had been neatly fitted over the front of the volume, and fastened with a silver lock set into the binding. The key had been lost, and some one had torn off the cap, so that the book could be opened. The writing covers a hundred and fifty-two pages; and in the margin, which comprises half the width of the leaf, the writer has put occasional notes. At the end of the diary, three letters are copied in the handwriting of the diarist, which explain themselves. They bear so closely on his military history, that he doubtless wanted to keep them with the record of his American campaigns. In these letters, the name is always written "C^te^ Guillaume des Deuxponts."

The journal is published as it was written by the author, and it is meant to be a faithful copy of the manuscript in all particulars. The punctuation and accents are given as they are found. Whatever I have inserted is enclosed in brackets. When facts are mentioned, which have been stated by other writers, their ac-

counts also are frequently given in foot-notes to the translation, and generally in their exact words. This is done to show the accuracy of the diarist's statements, which in the main are corroborated by these writers.

Reference to such notes, as well as to my own, is made by means of figures, to distinguish them from those of Count William, which are indicated by asterisks, etc.

There is internal evidence that the journal was written at the time of the events which it describes, though it was probably copied into the volume at a later period. From the fact that the date of one of the letters at the end of the volume (p. 157) is incorrectly given as 1783, it is not improbable that the copy was made at that time.

Finding that the family of Deux-Ponts was connected with some of the reigning families of Central Europe, I mentioned this fact to Mr. George Ticknor, who is honored on both sides of the ocean for his scholarship, and he kindly offered to procure from a very high source in Germany, some account of the author of the diary. Having availed myself of this offer, I am enabled to give, on unquestionable authority, certain facts which would not have been accessible to me under any other circumstances. I am therefore under the deepest obligation to the eminent personage who has furnished the account in German, from which the following facts are taken. It was sent to Mr. Ticknor, and by him placed at my disposal.

The Barons of Zweibrück or Deux-Ponts, who have now become extinct, were descended from Duke Christian of Zweibrück, the uncle of King Maximilian I., of Bavaria, and from a French person named Fontenay, who had been, if only for a short time, a *danseuse*, and who afterwards received the title of Baroness von Forbach. Whether the duke entered into a morganatic marriage with her cannot be ascertained with certainty; but the

brother of the baroness is said to have declared such a marriage at the death of the duke, in his name. At any rate, the sons of this union were not admitted to the succession, so that Christian's nephew, Charles, the elder brother of King Maximilian, succeeded to the dukedom. Christian's two sons, Christian and William, at first bore their mother's name, and afterwards that of Barons of Zweibrück.

From this it appears that they were the children of a German father and of a French mother. Hence they were much connected with France; and they married afterwards, ladies of the highest French aristocracy; William* married a cousin of the well-known Polignac, (a Polignac or a Polastron,†) and Christian, a Bethune.

After the French Revolution both brothers lived in Bavaria.

Baron Christian commanded the Bavarian Auxiliary Corps, at the unfortunate battle of Hohenlinden, in 1800, with such distinction that, when the order of Maximilian Joseph was founded, he received the Grand Cross of the order for his conduct in that battle. He left no son, but two daughters; Eleonore, married to Count Gravenreuth, who finally became President for the Government (*Regierungs Präsident*) at Augsburg; and Casimira, married, first, to Colonel Count Wittgenstein, who fell in the battle of Mohaisk (Borodino), and secondly, to General Count Anton Rechberg.

Baron William, the author of the journal, to whom King Maximilian was especially attached, was always, as Captain of the *Gardes du Corps*,‡ Commandant of the Palace Guard, the so-called *Hartschiere*, a post of honor at the Bavarian Court. He

* In March 1780, he writes in his journal, that "it was only two months since I was married." See page 76.

† Prince Jules de Polignac was son of the Duke de Polignac and of Yolande Martine Gabrielle de Polastron, Duchess de Polignac, the friend of Queen Marie Antoinette.

‡ Called in the *Almanach de Gotha* one of the "Grandes Charges de la Cour."

had two sons, Charles and Christian, both in the Bavarian service. The first, a distinguished cavalry officer, died of wounds received at the battle of Mohaisk (Borodino), and lies buried in that place. Christian was Adjutant to King Maximilian, and finally became, like his father, Captain of the Guards. He married a Countess Rechberg, but he died childless.* Besides these two sons, Baron William had also two daughters, Arianne Baroness Celto, and Henriette Marquise Virien.

Baron William died sixteen years before his brother.

From some manuscripts belonging to the Pennsylvania Historical Society, I gather a few additional facts in regard to these brothers, as well as to their regiment. These manuscripts comprise the *États de Service* of the French officers, who served in this country under Rochambeau, and are copies from the original documents in the War Department at Paris, made in June 1849, for the Honorable Richard Rush, while Minister to France. The following is a translation from this source:

"(Royal deux Ponts.) The regiment went to North America and remained there during 1780, '81, '82, and '83. It had made the campaigns of 1757, '58, '59, '60, '61, and '62, in Germany.

"COLONEL. Count de Forbach, Marquis des Deux Ponts (Christian) born on the 20th of October, 1752, at Deux Ponts. Rank of Second Lieutenant without pay, April 20th, 1768. Colonel of the regiment in 1775. Distinguished conduct at York.

"LIEUTENANT-COLONEL. Count de Forbach des Deux Ponts (Guillaume) born on the 18th of June, 1754, at Deux Ponts. Rank of Second Lieutenant in the regiment, November 12th, 1778. Lieutenant-Colonel of this Regiment, October 2d, 1779. Wounded at the siege of York in 1781."

* He married, August 4th, 1818, Caroline, Countess Rechberg; was a Cavalry General in the Bavarian army, and died April 25th, 1859. She was born June 25th, 1798, and is still living. *Almanach de Gotha*, for 1868. p. 321.

The title of Count borne by these brothers was no doubt a French one, and was discarded when they returned to enter the service of their German relations. The Abbé Robin, in his *Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Philadelphie* [Paris], 1783, p. 129, calls him "Compte Guillaume de Deux-Ponts," and says that he was the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment "Royal-Deux-Ponts." Mr. Dawson, in his *Battles of the United States*, vol. i. p. 742, speaks of him as "Count William Forbach de Deux Ponts." In the official letters copied at the end of the diary, the Baron de Viomesnil recognizes the title of Count. General Richard Butler, in his diary published in the *Historical Magazine*, New York, 1864, vol. viii. p. 111, speaks of the younger brother as "Viscount," and furthermore states that he was "the brother to Count Bernard Deux Ponts, who commands the elegant regiment Deux Ponts." This was a very natural mistake for one to make who was familiar only with the English system of rank.

The name appears to be written indiscriminately *de Deux-Ponts* and *des Deux-Ponts*, as well as *de Deuxponts* and *des Deuxponts*. In speaking of the regiment in the translation, I have written it Deuxponts, following the manuscript.

General Washington, in a letter dated New Windsor, December 10th, 1780, (Sparks's *Washington*, vol. vii. p. 319,) speaks of the satisfaction he experienced in meeting some of the French officers and says that he "unfortunately missed seeing the Count de Deux-ponts, who had left my quarters on his way to Philadelphia, be-

* It is a curious fact in bibliography that during the period of the American Revolution, it was not uncommon for books published in Paris to bear the imprint of Boston or Philadelphia, even when there was no publishing-house in those places, mentioned on the title-page. Generally such books related to America, but this was not always the case. These towns had a wide reputation in Europe, from their connection with the Revolution, and it may have been thought that by doing this the sale of the books would be helped.

fore I arrived at them. I however flatter myself that I shall have the pleasure of seeing him on his return." General Heath, in his *Memoirs*, p. 271, says that January 13th, 1781, "the Marquis de la Fayette and Count Deuxponts visited West Point." These allusions probably refer to the elder brother, of whom mention is made several times in these pages, as we do not learn from the diary that its writer was absent from the French army at this time.

Mr. Lossing, in his *Pictorial Field Book*, vol. ii. p. 515, speaks of "Count William Deuxponts" as one of the most distinguished colonels of the French regiments, and gives a likeness of him copied from a portrait in Trumbull's picture* in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, representing the surrender of Cornwallis.

In Renwick's *Life of Count Rumford*, (Sparks's *American Biography*, vol. v. p. 62,) an allusion is made to "Prince Maximilian of Deux-Ponts, afterwards King of Bavaria," as having just returned from America, where he had served in the army of Rochambeau, and had been present at the surrender of Cornwallis; and, in a note, it is added that "his portrait is to be seen in Trumbull's Picture of the Capitulation of Yorktown, in the Rotunda of the Capitol." Professor Renwick confounds Prince Maximilian de Deux-Ponts with one of the brothers who served in this country. He probably refers to the elder one; and, if so, his statement about the portrait is at variance with that of Mr. Lossing.

Colonel Trumbull, in his *Reminiscences*, gives a record of his journey in 1786, from Paris to the Rhine. In speaking of St. Embright, he says, on page 123, "In this vicinity is the palace of the Duke de Deuxponts, prince of this country, and cousin of Maxi-

* The portraits of the French officers in this picture were painted from life, in the house of Mr. Jefferson at Paris, in 1787. Trumbull's *Reminiscences*, p. 408.

milian Deuxponts, colonel of the regiment royal Allemand, one of the four superb infantry regiments who served in America, under Count Rochambeau; this residence appears to be fine and finely situated. The Count Maximilian was made King of Bavaria by Napoleon; . . "

This account is partly correct, but the name of the Colonel, as officially given, was Christian only; and the assertion that the Colonel of the regiment became King of Bavaria is of course a mistake. It might be supposed that Colonel Trumbull would not have fallen into the error, as he must have been personally acquainted with one of the brothers Deux-Ponts, if one sat for the portrait in the picture of the surrender of Cornwallis; but the final sentence must obviously have been founded on an inference from European news which reached America long after Colonel Trumbull's return home.

It is clear that Count William distinguished himself at the siege of Yorktown, more eminently perhaps than his brother, and all contemporaneous accounts speak in high terms of his conduct at the capture of the redoubts on the night of the 14th of October. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, of the British Legion, in his account of the siege (*History of the Campaigns of* 1780 *and* 1781. Dublin, 1787, p. 386,) mentions this assault, and says that Count William was " amongst the foremost of the assailants." This, coming from a British officer, would show that his bravery was conspicuous. The assault was one of the most important events of the siege, and it would not have been inappropriate to represent, in the historical painting one who took a prominent part in it, for which reason I lean to Mr. Lossing's statement.

In a codicil to his will, Dr. Franklin bequeaths a crab-tree walking-stick to General Washington, and says, " If it were a sceptre, he has merited it and would become it. It was a present to me from that excellent woman, Madame de Forbach, the Dowager

Duchess of Deux-Ponts, connected with some verses which should go with it." *Life of Benjamin Franklin.* Boston, 1857, p. 609. This was the mother of the diarist, though she was never the Dowager Duchess of Deux-Ponts.

The town of Deux-Ponts (German *Zweibrücken*) from which the family name comes, is situated on the Erbach, near its confluence with the Serre, fifty miles west of Spires. Formerly it was the capital of a duchy of the same name, governed by its own lords, and afterwards passed successively into the power of Sweden and Bavaria. The old ducal palace, formerly one of the finest in Germany, was in a great measure destroyed by the French, and part of it has been converted into a Roman Catholic church. The town derives its name from two bridges which here cross the Erbach. The well-known Bipontine edition of the classics was published at Deux-Ponts.

The territory of Deux-Ponts was in the possession of the Counts Palatine of the Rhine, (not identical with the Electors Palatine,) as early as the fourteenth century. During the two following centuries the Deux-Ponts line of that family became subdivided into five branches, and in 1654, the head of the main branch was elected King of Sweden. In the eighteenth century, however, several of these lines became extinct; that of Deux-Ponts-Birkenfeld inherited from the rest, and, while they still remained Counts Palatine, their chief was made a duke.

The father of the diarist was Christian, Count Palatine and Duke of Deux-Ponts-Birkenfeld, but he died in 1775, leaving no recognized children, and his dukedom passed to his two nephews successively, Charles Augustus, (*b.* 1746, *d.* 1795,) and Maximilian, (*b.* 1756, *d.* 1825.)

Maximilian became in 1799, Elector, and in 1805, King of Bavaria; and we then find Duke William of Bavaria, the husband of the king's sister, become Duke of Deux-Ponts, which title now

rests with his grandson, Duke Maximilian, the father of the Empress of Austria, and of the Ex-Queen of Naples.

It was among these persons, in the last generation, that Christian and William de Forbach des Deux-Ponts passed their early and later years, as relatives of inferior birth, but on terms of kindness, esteem, and honor.

The accession of the Deux-Ponts family to the inheritance of Bavaria was due to a rule of succession, settled at Pavia in 1329, between Louis the Bavarian, Emperor of Germany — ancestor of the Bavarian house which became extinct in 1777 — and his nephews. Under this rule, Charles Theodore, Elector Palatine, took possession of Bavaria in 1777.

In the following year he made a convention with Austria, which would have alienated Bavaria again from this house, he having no children; but Charles Augustus, who had already succeeded his uncle Christian, as Duke of Deux-Ponts, made good, with the help of the King of Prussia, his claim as heir presumptive. He died before the elector, but his right passed to his brother Maximilian, who, as we already know, became King of Bavaria, and who was the father of King Louis I., of the present Queen of Saxony, of the Dowager Queens of Saxony and Prussia, and of the Archduchess Sophia, mother of the Emperor of Austria.

From all the different sources that I have quoted, I gather the following outlines of the diarist's life. He was born at Deux-Ponts, June 18th, 1754, and entered his brother's regiment, in the French army, in 1778. At this time his father had been dead three years. Early in 1780, he married a French lady of high birth, and came shortly afterwards to this country in Rochambeau's army; while here, he wrote most of the journal which is now published. At the siege of Yorktown, where he was wounded, he distinguished himself by his bravery, and was mentioned particularly in the official report made by the Baron de Viomesnil to the

Count de Rochambeau. For his gallantry on this occasion, he was made by the King of France a Chevalier of the Military Order of St. Louis.

Nothing more seems to be known of him or of his brother, until the French Revolution obliged them to return to Germany, when they entered the service of Bavaria.

The diarist held a post of honor at the Court and near the person of the king, which he retained during his life, and which his son received afterwards. His brother, Christian, was his senior by two years, and survived him sixteen years, though I do not know the exact date of the death of either.

I offer no apology for publishing a journal, which gives interesting and valuable facts connected with the American Revolution. Anything that throws light on the events of that period is important, and ought to be preserved. History is made up of the deeds of individuals, and sometimes the best insight into the motives and consequences of those deeds is gained from the humblest narratives.

In conclusion, I would return my thanks to many friends for services rendered in many ways. By such help the work of preparing the manuscript for the press has been in a great measure lessened.

S. A. G.

BOSTON, September 1, 1868.

MES CAMPAGNES D'AMÉRIQUE.

MES CAMPAGNES D'AMERIQUE

CONTE G. DE DEUX PONTS

CAMPAGNE DE L'ANNEE 1780

C'est au commencement de l'année 1780 que le Roy se determina a envoyer des troupes au secours des etats unis de l'Amerique Septentrionale, on n'en declara pas le dessein, on prit au contraire toutes les précautions imaginables pour cacher l'objet auquel on destinoit les troupes qui alloient recevoir l'ordre de s'embarquer, et les regiments de Neustrie, Bourbonnois, Soisonnois, Saint Onge, Anhalt, Royal Deux-ponts, un bataillon D'Artillerie et la legion de Lauzun, destinés a cette expedition, quitterent les cantonnemens dans les quels on les avoit placés aprés la fin de l'inutile campagne de 1779; dans l'ignorance la plus parfaite du pays dans lequel on alloit les transporter.

Le Marquis de la Fayette possedoit seul a cet egard, le secret de l'etat, c'est lui qui fut chargé de notifier notre arrivée en Amerique et son départ qui précédoit le notre ne put nous instruire et nous faire connaitre notre sort que nous croyons trés indépendant du sien, parceque sa qualité de Major General au service des etats unis rendoit son retour dans ces contrées, simple et même necessaire.

A la fin du mois de Fevrier, émanerent du bureau de la guerre, les ordres de départ pour les regiments qui compo-

soient notre petite armée, et je reçus dans les premiers jours de Mars, celui d'etre rendu le 15 du même mois a Landernau ou le regiment de Royal Deuxponts hyvernoit; il n'y avoit pas deux mois que j'etois marié, que j'avois uni mon sort et même mon cœur, a une femme que j'aimois tendrement. J'avouerai franchement que le premier sentiment que cet ordre me fit eprouver, ne fut pas celui du plaisir et je ne cacherai pas ici, la peine, la peine bien réelle que me causoit ma separation d'avec ma femme; le combat de la tendre amitié et du devoir ne fut cependant pas long, le dernier l'emporta, il n'eprouva que la resistance d'un coeur sensible et il n'en eprouva qu' asséz pour lui donner la gloire d'une victoire toujours certaine sur une ame qui connoit les droits de l'honneur; ma resolution enfin ne pouvoit etre douteuse, mais ma presence n'etant pas trés necessaire a Landernau avant le mois D'Avril fixé pour l'embarquement des troupes, je demandai la permission de n'y arriver que le 31 Mars, les difficultés que le Ministre opposa a mes desirs, furent vaincues par les sollicitations remplies d'amitié et d'interet de la Comtesse de Linanges et elle [l'] obtint pour moi; j'embrassai ma pauvre mere le 27, et je quittai ma femme le 28 du mois de Mars; les adieux trop tendres deviennent dechirans et mon coeur l'eprouva; je partis. Quelques larmes, beaucoup de réflexions sur ce que j'abandonnois, sur ce que j'allois devenir, et sur la gloire que je pourrois peut etre acquerir, occuperent le tems de mon voyage. J'arrivai a Landernau le 31, j'y trouvai l'ordre de nous embarquer le 4 D'Avril, j'y appris la facheuse necessité dans la quelle on etoit de laisser les regiments de Neustrie et D'Anhalt en France, faute de moyens de les embarquer, et nous quittames Landernau le 4 D'Avril.

le regiment de Royal Deuxponts est arrivé le même jour a Brest et s'est embarqué a bord de *L'Eveillé* de 64 canons, de la *Venus* de la Comtesse de *Noailles*, de la *Loire* et de *l'Ecureuil* il a commencé l'embarquement de touts les regiments destinés a servir sous les ordres de Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau, il a été suivi le lendemain 5 Avril par la legion de Lauzun, le 6 par le regiment de Soisonnois le 8 par le regiment de Bourbonnois, le 10 par le regiment de St. Onge et l'artillerie qui devoit terminer l'embarquement des troupes, est entrée le 11 Avril dans ses vaisseaux.

Les Officiers Generaux, [les] aides de camp &[c] ont tous été embarqués le 14 Avril; le 15 le vent [étant] asséz favorable engagea M le Chevalier de Ternay, commandant de notre escadre, a ordonner le départ du convoi qui devoit préceder d'un jour celui des vaisseaux de guerre. Le convoi appareilla et alla mouiller dans la rade de Berthaume; le 16 au matin, le General ordonna a l'escadre de desaffourcher, de virer a pic, et au môment d'appareiller le vent changea et nous força de rester dans la rade de Brest, le vent devint même si violent que le convoi fut obligé de rentrer le lendemain dans la rade de Brest.

A compter du 17 Avril le vent fut constamment contraire, il nous força a l'inaction et ce n'est que le 2 Mai a cinq heures du matin que nous avons pu mettre a la voile. Notre flotte a cette epoque etoit camposée du *Duc de Bourgogne* de 80 canons, du *Neptune* de 74 du *Conquerant* de 74, de *L'Eveillé* du *Jason*, de la *Provence* et de *l'ardent* de 64, des fregattes la *Bellone l'Amazone* et la *Surveillante* des cutters la *Guepe*, et le *Serpent* et de trente six batimens de Transport, le tout formant quarante huit voiles.

le 5 Mai a deux heures aprés midi, la frégatte la Bellone

quitta l'escadre, pour retourner en France, notre route jusques la, a été fort lente et entierement dépourvue d'evenemens, et nous nous n'avions depuis trois jours et demi que nous naviguions, parcouru que 50 lieues; Au môment du départ de la fregatte la Bellone, le vaisseau commandant a fait le signal de regler l'eau, ce signal nous fait présumer une traversée longue, et augmente encore l'incertitude de nos conjectures sur le lieu de notre destination; je crois cependant que l'intention de Monsieur de Ternay en faisant ce signal, a été de persuader la Bellone de la longueur de notre route, pour que son rapport trompe de plus en plus la curiosité des politiques.

Le 9 Mai a cinq heures du matin, nous avons vu et reconnu le Cap Ortegal, situé dans la province de Galice, nous avons été a vue de terre jusqu' a neuf heures du matin. Le Ciel s'embruma tout a coup et le vent s'eleva avec tant de violence et de promptitude, que nous avons été obligés de mettre a la cape avec la plus grande precipitation, La *Provence* a eue son petit mat de hune et son grand mat du Perroquet brisé[s] par le vent, plusieurs autres vaisseaux ont souffert, entre autres, le Neptune, dont le Mat du Perroquet de fougue a été cassé; la Provence a fait peu de môments aprés son accident, le signal que son avarie* ne pouvoit pas se reparer a la mer; le vent a continué pendant toute la journée avec la même impétuosite.

Le 10. la violence du vent s'est soutenue jusqu'a cinq heures du soir, un vent frais de Nord Ouest nous a permis a cette heure la, de quitter la cape et de remettre a la voile.

Du 10 au 15 Mai, le vent nous a continuellement été con-

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* cette même avarie fut reparée quatre jours aprés en deux heures de tems.

traire et nous avons employé tout ce tems la, a courir des bords, trop heureux de pouvoir nous maintenir dans notre position et de ne pas perdre du chemin que nous avons deja fait.

Le 15 au matin, le vent nous est devenu entierement favorable et nous a permis ce même jour de doubler le cap Finisterre. Le Cutter le *Serpent* a été renvoyé en Europe pour y porter la nouvelle de notre décapement. Le Vent de Nord Est s'est soutenu avec constance, et le 21 nous avons doublé l'Isle de Madere, la laissant a peu prés a 50 lieues a l'est.

Du 21 Mai au trois de Juin le tems a été constamment beau et le vent favorable, mais la plupart du tems trop foible pour faire une route considerable; les airs de vent auxquels on a governé pend^{t} tout ce tems la, n'ont pu nous eclairer sur notre destination, ils nous dirigeoient egalement vers l'amerique Septentrionale et vers les Antilles. le 3, l'escadre etant en panne et la mer belle, Le C^{te} de Damas, mon frere et moi, avons été a bord du Duc de Bourgogne, faire une visite a M^{r} le Comte de Rochambeau qui nous a annoncé que nous faisions route pour l'amerique Septentrionale.

Le 8 de Juin, M^{r} le Comte de Rochambeau, nous a fait parvenir dans nos vaisseaux respectifs, nos instructions de debarquement, la forme de notre service et l'ordre des rangs a observer vis a vis des troupes des etats unis de l'amerique.

le 11 de Juin, les fregattes la Surveillante et l'Amazone ont pris aprés huit heures de chasse, une caiche angloise venant de Hallifax.

le 18 de Juin nous avons doublé la Bermude, Nord et Sud, la laissant a peu prés soixante lieues Nord; les fregattes la Surveillante et l'Amazone ont pris le même jour un brique

anglois, moutant douze canons qui venoit du siege de Charles Town, que les Anglois ont pris sur les etats unis de l'Amerique, le 8 de Mai aprés un siege de six semaines, ce batiment nous en a appris la nouvelle certaine, il avoit a son bord cinq officiers du 46$^{\text{ieme}}$ regiment qui venoient de Charles Town et alloient a la Barbade. Il a pris notre escadre pour une escadre Angloise que l'on attend a la Nouvelle Angleterre et il ne s'est douté de son erreur qu'au môment ou les pavillons François, l'ont forcé d'amener le sien.

le 20 de Juin, on signala dans un trés grand eloignement six voiles au vent a nous, il etoit alors a peu prés midi et demi. Les Vaisseaux, le Neptune et l'Éveillé, reçurent aussitot l'ordre signalé de chasser en tenant le vent, et l'ordre verbal* de faire peu de voiles; nous arborames aussitot pavillon Anglois, nous nous mimes en chasse, une demie heure aprés nous vimes que les batimens chassoient sur nous, et nous jugeames facilement que c'etoient des batimens de guerre; la distance qui nous separoit etoit trop considerable pour pouvoir connaitre leur force, mais nous jugeames de leur nation, par la securité avec la quelle ils venoient au devant du pavillon Anglois. Ils chassoient tous, mais sans ordre, laissant entre eux des distances considerables, et nous vimes dés lors, un de ces vaisseaux se separer des autres et porter sur notre convoi qui continuoit sa route avec nos cinq autres vaisseaux, que etoient par consequent

* Nous passions a poupe du General, l'orsqu' on nous cria cet ordre verbal par un porte voix, notre Capitaine, repondit deux fois qu' il n'entendoit pas, parcequ' il vouloit que cet ordre fut signalé; a la troisieme repetition, l'Eveillé se trouvoit si prés du Duc de Bourgogne que Mr de Tilli ne pouvoit plus faire la sourde oreille, et il fut obligé d'obeir sans signal.

sous le vent a nous. A trois heures, l'Officier de quart vint nous avertir que les voiles que nous chassions, etoient cinq vaisseaux de ligne et une fregatte le Neptune que etoit un peu de l'avant, en fit le signal a notre escadre et notre vaisseau le repeta. Nous etions a table, cette nouvelle nous fit quitter notre diner pour laisser faire le branlebas, et pour nous preparer au combat; une demie heure aprés, nos deux vaisseaux se trouverent a la grande portée du canon, d'un vaisseau de 74 canons et de la fregatte ennemie, qui devançoient d'une demie lieue a peu prés la reste de leur escadre. La fregatte hissa un pavillon espagnol qui devoit servir de signal de reconnoissance, et au quel nous n'avions pas de reponse a faire; le vaisseau et la fregatte jugerent notre silence, mirent en panne, et nous, nous* virames de bord, pour rejoindre notre escadre qui sur le signal du Neptune, s'etoit separée du convoi, et venoit vent devant et toutes voiles dehors, a notre appui. A cinq heures du soir, nos sept vaisseaux se trouverent en ligne de bataille, les anglois avoient formé la leur, a l'exception du vaisseau qui s'etoit detaché de son escadre, qui avoit vivement chassé notre convoi, et etoit consequemment tombé, sous le vent, non seulement de son escadre, mais de la notre, de maniere a etre certaine de le couper, si Mr de Ternay avoit voulu profitter de notre avantageuse position. L'Escadre Françoise dont le Neptune avoit la téte, le chassa, mais le Chevalier de Ternay faisoit a tous

* Nous virames de bord, sans que le Duc de Bourgogne nous en ait fait le signal, je ne concevrai ni n'approuverai jamais cette Manoeuvre de Mr Destouches, si nous avions engagé le vaisseau de 74 canons qui se trouvoit a notre portée; nous aurions a la verité eu a combattre avec nos deux vaisseaux quatre vaisseaux ennemis; mais une demie heure aprés ces quatre vaisseaux Anglois eussent été foundroyés par sept vaisseaux François.

môments le signal aux vaisseaux de téte de diminüer de voiles, et donna le tems au vaisseau ennemi de serrer le vent et de s'y elever* L'Escadre Angloise avoit le vent sur la notre et couroit sur la même paralelle, a cinq heures et demi[e] nous arborames pavillon Francois, les ennemis hisserent aussitôt celui de leur nation, et a six heures moins un quart, notre vaisseau commandant, fit le signal au vaisseau de téte de commencer le combat. Au même instant, le vaisseau Anglois separé, se trouvant asséz elevé au vent, vira de bord vent devant, passa en revue devant toute l'escadre Françoise, reçut toutes nos bordées, repondit a toutes celles que nous lui envoyons et regagna par cette manoeuvre hardïe et habile la queue de sa ligne. Le combat s'engagea et fut pendant vingt minutes vif et suivi. Le Chevalier de Ternay pour se rapprocher de l'ennemi fit le signal a notre escadre de virer vent arriere par la contremarche, la cannonade recommença une grand distance; les Anglois tinrent le vent, s'eloignerent peu a peu de nous, et la nuit tomba un quart d'heure aprés la fin de notre combat. L'Escadre Angloise etoit composée de deux vaisseaux de 74 canons, deux de 64 et un de 50, la fregatte Angloise pouvoit etre de 32 canons. Tout notre convoi resta rassemblé a une demie lieu[e] sous le vent a nous et etoit guardé par les fregattes l'Amazone et la Surveillante. Notre Combat a duré en tout, à compter du premier coup de canon jusqu'au dernier, a peu prés cinq quarts d'heure. Nous avons allumé nos feux et les avons conservé pendant toute la nuit; les Anglois

* La Memoire de Mr de Ternay ne sera jamais a l'abri du reproche que merite sa conduite dans cette circonstance, qui auroit due le couvrir de gloire. S'il avoit l'ordre de ne pas combattre, il ne devoit pas commencer le combat, s'il en avoit la liberte, il devoit tirer parti de ses avantages et cela n'etoit pas difficile.

n'avoient pas les leurs, si c'est une preuve de notre victoire, il faut avouer qu'elle est bien foible.

Le 21. La Surveillante a pris un gros bateau anglois chargé de bois, venant de Savannah, il a assuré que le 8 de ce mois il avoit encore vu l'Amiral Arbuthnot devant Charles Town, mais n'ayant avec lui que des fregattes (parceque les vaisseaux de ligne ne peuvent pas passer la barre de Charles Town) cela nous fait croire a tous que l'escadre que nous avons combattu[e] hier, est celle D'Arbuthnot venant de Hallifax et allant rejoindre son General. Nous sommes d'autant plus fondés a croire que l'escadre ennemie etoit commandée par un simple Capitaine de vaisseau, que nous n'avons point remarqué de pavillon de distinction a aucun de leurs vaisseaux.* Nous jugeons que ces cinq vaisseaux etoient le Robuste et le Russel de 74 canons, l'Europa et le Raisonnable de 64, et le Renown de 50.

Du 21 Juin au 4 Juillet notre route a souvent été contrariée par des calmes ou des vents contraires, il y a eu de l'erreur dans l'estimation de la longitude, a bord de tous nos vaisseaux, tous les points etoient de l'avant des navires. ce qui nous a fait souvent sonder sans trouver fonds.

le 4 Juillet a dix heures et demie du matin, on signala une voile, que le Chevalier de Ternay fit aussitôt chasser par les fregattes l'Amazone et la Surveillante; le Duc de Bourgogne, fit le signal qu'il rendoit sa manoeuvre independante et appuya lui même la chasse des deux fregattes. Le bati-

*Nous avons appris trois mois aprés que cette escadre étoit commandée par le Capitaine Cornwallis, venant de la Jamaïque dont il avoit debouqué un convoi, qu' elle y retournoit, et que les cinq vaisseaux qui la composoient, sont *l*[*e*] *Hector* et *le Sultan* de 74 canons, le *Lion* et le *Rubis* de 64, le *Bristol* de 30 et la fregatte le *Niger* de 32 canons.

ment chassé etoit un gros bateau armé, fort bon marcheur; il n'amena pavillon qu'aprés plusieurs coups de canons a boulets tirés sur lui; il fut cependant pris et amariné a deux heures, et nous jugeames, nous sachant prés de la côte D'Amerique, que ce navire etoit une mouche Angloise destinée a nous observer; a deux heures et demie, l'Amazone signala qu' elle avoit trouvé fonds a soixante brasses, une heure aprés, le Conquerant signala fonds a quinze brasses et a quatre heures l'Eveillé le trouva a treize brasses, il n'y avoit plus a douter de notre proximité de la terre, et le bateau pris affirma que nous n'etions qu'a dix lieues a l'Est du cap Henri un des caps de la Baye de Chesapeack; l'Escadre mit en panne et le signal de faire servir, fut suivi immediatement par celui de nous preparer a mouiller. a six heures et un quart, ordre de mouiller, qui fut révoque le môment d'aprés, a six heures et demi[e] la Surveillante signala deux voiles; le General fit aussitot le signal du branle bas general, nous fumes un peu etonnés de la promptitude de cet ordre mais l'instant d'aprés, le Duc de Burgogne signala neuf voiles, et un autre vaisseau [en signala] onze, cela nous parut un peu plus serieux nous commençames mes compagnons de voyage et moi a calculer les probabilités; nous nous rappellames que l'Amiral Graves avec une forte escadre avoit du appareiller des ports D'Angleterre en même tems que nous, ou nous suivre de prés, que cette escadre sans convoi, marchant mieux que nous, devoit etre arrivée a sa destination, qu'elle pouvoit etre jointe a Arbuthnot et que ces deux escadres reunies croisoient vraisemblablement en attendant notre arrivée, le petit batiment pris, ne nous parut plus alors qu'un espion, dout M[r] de Ternay moyennant cinquante toises ou cinquante coups de bâton avoit tiré la verité du Capitaine, et le signal de virer vent

devant toutes voiles dehors, l'avertissement que le General alloit indiquer des fausses routes pour la nuit,* cinq fausses routes qui parurent le moment d'aprés et par un de nos batimens legers, envoyé pour reconnaitre; nous persuaderent a tous, que les batimens apperçus etoient Arbuthnot et Graves trés superieurs et trés a craindre. Le soleil baissoit je ne vis que cinq des voiles signalées, la nuit se ferma nous commençames a dix heures nos fausses routes qui furent trés bien executées, a minuit et demi cinq coups de canon, firent passer cinq boulets entre les mats du Duc de Bourgogne, ils nous firent croire que l'ennemi nous avoit joint, que nous ne lui echapperions pas le lendemain matin, et nous passames notre nuit dans les preparatifs et l'attente d'un combat, dont l'issue ne nous paroissoit pas [de] couleur de rose, je pris cependant le parti de me coucher, il est plus sage de dormir que de réver a un combat naval ou il n'y avoit rien a gagner; je me reveillai a trois heures et demi[e] mon premier soin fut de demander si nous avions l'ennemi sur le bras, on me repondit qu'on ne voyoit que deux batimens etrangers, je regardai et je vis deux fregattes ennemies

* Touts ces signaux etoient bien plutot une fuite honteuse qu'une manoeuvre prudente, jamais on ne pouvoit en mer, mieux peindre la peur, et j'ai vu avec douleur ce triste coup de pinceau de Monsieur de Ternay; il n'a même pas eu asséz de presence d'esprit pour envoyer a la reconnoissance des batimens signalés. la Surveillante et l'Eveillé marchent cependant asséz superieurement pour avoir pu remplir cet objet, sans craindre de les compromettre, on auroit vu, on lui auroit rendu compte, et notre Amiral eut appris qu'il etoit le maitre de s'emparer de deux vaisseaux de 44 canons, quatre fregattes et un convoi qui composoient ces voiles apperçues et qui lui ont donné tant de craintes. ce n'est que quatre mois aprés, que nous l'avons sue, il eut éte heureux de ne pas manquer une pareille occasion, mais, quand on a peur, on n'y voit pas si bien.

au milieu de notre convoi, qui mettoient toutes voiles dehors pour s'eloigner; taut mieux pensois-je en moi mêne. Nos fregattes, et les vaisseaux qui se trouvoient a portée de Mr de Ternay, lui demandoient avec instance, la permission de chasser, mais il n'osa pas l'accorder avant que le soleil eut asséz eclairé l'horizon pour etre sur qu'il n'y avoit pas de forces superieures a craindre, a cinq heures du matin il en fut convaincu, il fit signal a nos fregattes de chasser les fregattes ennemies, et appuya lui même la chasse qui dura jusqu'a une heure aprés midi, sans avoir pu joindre les fregattes ennemies dont la marche etoit superieure, et qui pour echapper plus surement, avoient fait le sacrifice de quelques uns de leurs canons, qu'elles avoient jetés a la mer. L'Escadre et le convoi ayant continué leur route au même air de vent que les batimens chasseurs, nous fumes tous rejoints a trois heures, nous mimes en panne; le General ordonna a tous les vaisseaux et fregattes d'envoyer a l'ordre, et declara qu' il conduisoit l'escadre a Boston ou a Rhode Island. L'enseigne du vaisseau envoyé a l'ordre raconta a son retour, a tout le monde, sous le secret, que le General avoit vu la veille onze voiles, et que d'aprés les informations prises, il etoit certain qu'elles formoient une escadre Angloise composée de sept vaisseaux de ligne, le *London* de 98 canons et six vaisseaux de 74 canons.

Le grand nombre de nos malades et la fatigue que nous eprouvons de 27 jours passés dans la rade de Brest et de soixante six jours en mer, nous font desirer d'eviter la rencontre des forces dont nous sommes menacés; les ennemis, partis en même tems que nous, peuvent etre deja rafraichis et reposés de leur traversée qui debarasée d'un convoi doit avoir été bien plus courte que la notre.

Dans la nuit du cinq au six Juillet nous avons perdu le

batiment pris le quatre de ce mois, son mat de beaupré cassé, l'a fait rester en arriere et sa conservation n'etoit pas asséz importante pour retarder la marche de l'escadre et du convoi.

Le sept de Juillet, le Chevalier de Ternay a fait venir a son bord tous les capitaines des vaisseaux et [des] fregattes de l'escadre et a declaré aprés un court conseil de guerre tenu avec eux, qu'il nous conduisoit a Rhode Island; On a refuté la nouvelle dite le cinq sur la force de l'escadre angloise, qu'on cro[yo]it avoir apperçu[e] le 4 au soir; j'approuve fort cette refutation que je crois destinées a encourager nos equipages, mais je n'en suis pas moins persuadé que la premiere nouvelle est vraie, et nous nous attendons tous a combattre avant notre arrivée a terre.

Du sept au neuf Juillet le tems a été trés brumeux, l'on a cependant a force de soins et de signaux conservé l'escadre et le convoi, a l'exception de la gabarre l'isle de France qui s'est ecartée et nous manque dans ce môment ci. Le 9 a six heures du matin, on a trouvé fonds a quarante brasses; l'incertitude de notre eloignement de la terre et l'impossibilité de la voir, engagerent le Chevalier de Ternay a faire mouiller la flotte a midi, a deux heures le tems s'est eclairci et a trois heures nous avons appareillé; trés peu de tems aprés on a signalé terre, mais on ne put la reconnaitre, nous nous en sommes approchés jusqu'a sept heures du soir; nous vimes a cette heure la, arriver une chaloupe americaine que le General fit venir a son bord, et nous apprimes que la terre decouverte etoit l'isle de Nomann une des isles des bancs de Nantuket; nous mouillames a 9 heures du soir et recommençames notre route le dix a quatre heures du matin.

le dix au soir nous decouvrimes encore la terre et nous eumes la certitude que c'etoit la terre de Rhode Island;

nous passames la nuit a l'ancre, le 11 a la pointe du jour nous appareillames, la brume etoit fort epaisse, nous courions vers la terre, et nous allions nous perdre sans quelques coups de canons de signaux que le navire l'Ecureuil tira pour nous avertir du danger, la brume s'eclaircit, nous etions contre la pointe Judith, nous fumes pris par un calme plat et forcés de mouiller; le General nous envoya un pilote Americain; (le Colonel Elliot) nous remimes a la voile dans l'aprés midi et nous sommes entrés le onze Juillet au soir dans la Rade de Newport.

Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau a été debarqué le même jour et s'est occupé de l'emplacement de notre camp et de touts les details relatifs a sa petite armée qui ne lui ont permis de faire commencer le debarquement des troupes, que le 13 de Juillet, Les grenadiers et chasseurs qu'on a mis les premiers a terre, ont dés le même soir été occuper le camp qui nous est destiné, ils ont été suivis le 14 et le 15 par les troupes bien portantes et le 16, le 17 le 18 et le 19 ont été donnés au debarquement des malades; les uns ont été transportés aux hopitaux preparés a Newport, et les autrés, a un hopital etabli a *Papisquasch* a donze milles de Newport.

Le Camp occupé par l'armée Françoise a sa droite appuyée prés de Newport, un peu en avant de la ville, la gauche touche a la mer, la legion de Lauzun est campée en avant de l'armée, dans une presque isle appellée le *Nek*.

Nous sommes enfin arrivés au terme de notre navigation, et de la fatigue et de l'ennui qui en sont inseparables, le môment ou l'on revoit la terre aprés en avoir été separé pend[t] soixante et onze jours, est doux, on ne connoit jamais mieux le prix du bonheur qu'aprés l'avoir acheté par des privations et des peines; mais nous avons trop a nous occuper du spectacle de l'humanité souffrante, pour jouir; le

scorbut a fait des ravages affreux parmi nos troupes, nous avons perdu du monde pendant la traversée, et la grande quantité de nos malades, le triste etat auquel plusieurs sont reduits, nous font craindre d'en perdre encore beaucoup.

Nous n'avons pas eprouvé a notre debarquement l'accueil auquel nous nous attendions et auquel nous devions nous attendre, le froid et la reserve me semblent jusqu'a present etre le caractere distinctif de la nation americaine, elle paroit peu portée a l'enthousiasme que l'on suppose a un peuple qui combat pour sa liberté et peu propre a l'inspirer, mais ces considerations ne changerent rien a ma resolution, et m'occupent bien moins que mes reflexions sur notre position militaire et politique; nous sommes bien peu nombreux et je prévois avec peine que nous ne pourrons pas etre cette campagne ci, d'une grande influence, si notre seconde division n'arrive pas bientôt et ne nous met pas en etat de faire naitre quelques evenemens.

le 21 Juillet au matin, un brique destiné a porter en France la nouvelle de notre arrivée dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, est sorti du port de Rhode Island, sous l'escorte des fregattes, la Surveillante, l'Amazone et l'Hermione qui doivent le convoyer jusqu'a une certaine distance; La vue de plusieurs voiles a fait rentrer cette flotille; les voiles découvertes se sont approchées et a six heures du soir, nous en avons comptés de la côte, vingt; dont au moins neuf vaisseaux a deux batteries. Leur silence a touts les signaux faits de la côte, n'a plus laissé douter qu'ils etoient Anglois. L'incertitude de leurs desseins et la crainte qu'ils n'ayent celui de forcer la passe de Rhode Island, a fait embosser nos sept vaisseaux de ligne et Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau a dés le même soir, fait elever des batteries sur la passe du coté de

Rhode Island,* tandis que la marine en a elevé du coté de Conanicut. Mr de La Valette Lieutenant Colonel du regiment de Saint Onge a été detaché a Conanicut avec cent cinquante hommes, et Mr le Cte de Custine et moi en second avons été detaché avec les bataillons de grenadiers et chasseurs de nos deux brigades et nous avons pris notre position au bord de la mer, pour prevenir de l'un et de l'autre coté toute tentation de descente. L'Amiral Arbuthnot a continuellement reste en vue de la côte, jusqu'au 26 de Juillet; la nuit il mouilloit a la pointe de Judith, et passoit le jour sous voiles, croisant, tantot a une lieue, d'autres fois a trois ou quatre lieues de la côte. le 26 au soir le General nous a ordonné de rentrer au camp de l'armée, et la legion de Lauzun est venue prendre notre position. Mr le Cte de Rochambeau ayant reçu avis le 24 que le Gal Clinton faisoit embarquer dix mille hommes pour venir nous attaquer et qu'il alloit etre pret a appareiller, a detaché le second bataillon du regiment de Soisonnois commandé par le Vicomte de Noailles et l'a porté sur Conanicut ou il a été renforcé de milices Americaines; mais la difficulté de garder L'Isle de Conanicut qui est abordable de touts les cotés, a engagé Mr de Rochambeau a l'abandonner aux enterprises de l'ennemi, et il a fait rentrer le 27 de Juillet, le Bataillon detaché.

* Les batteries elevées du coté de Rhodisland, n'etoient que de pieces de douze, notre gros canon et nos mortiers n'avoient point encore été debarqués, et l'on peut aisément juger que ces batteries n'eussent pas été d'un grand effet contre des vaisseaux de ligne. a cette epoque la moitié de notre armée etoit malade il n'y avoit aucun point de debarquement reconnu et aucune marche ouverte. Notre position n'eut point été aisée si nous avions eu affaire a un ennemi hardi et habile.

Les avis donnés de l'intention du General Clinton de nous attaquer, ont été confirmés par ceux que le General Washington a fait parvenir a Mr de Rochambeau, que a en consequence convoqué les milices de l'etat de Rhode Island a fait reparer toutes les redoutes construites par les Anglois (l'orsqu'ils etoient les maitres de notre Isle) il en a augmenté la defense, en ajoutant de nouveaux ouvrages a ceux qui etoient deja construits, et a fait ouvrir des marches sur tous les points possibles de debarquement.

Le 12 D'Aoust nous avons appris que des mouvemens que le Gal Washington a fait pour s'approcher de New York, ont fait renoncer Clinton a ses projets sur nous. Le Gal Washington s'est porté a *Pompton* a seize milles de Staten Island. Le Gal Clinton avoit fait embarquer ses troupes dans la baye de Huntington il avoit même mis a la voile et s'etoit portê jusqu'a la hauteur de New London et ce n'est qu' alors qu' il a changé ses projets.

Dans la journée du 19 Aoust, il a paru vingt batimens entre Block Island et la pointe Judith, que l'on croit etre un convoi portant deux mille Anglois, destinés a faire une expedition sur le continent pour l'approvisionnement de New York.

Le 27 Aoust nous avons appris que vingt six voiles Angloises etoient devant l'Isle de Marthas Vyniard, et il n'est pas douteux que ce sont les même voiles que nous avons vu le 19.

Du 27 Aoust au 18 Septembre aucuns évenemens ni même de nouvelles interessantes ne nous ont tiré[s] de notre inactivité. Le 18 Septembre nous avons reçu l'avis de l'arrivée de l'Amiral Rodney a Sandy Hoock avec dix vaisseaux et l'on nous a annoncé ses projets sur nous, conjointement avec le General Clinton qui dit on embarque neuf mille cinq

cens hommes pour operer une descente, tandis que l'Amiral Rodney avec vingt et un vaisseaux de ligne, forcera la passe et combattra nos sept vaisseaux.

Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau est absent, une entrevue avec le General Washington, l'a fait partir le 17 de ce mois de Newport pour Hartford, lieu du rendézvous des deux Generaux et c'est le Baron de Viomesnil qui commande l'armée.

Il connoit le danger que nous courons et toutes ses consequences, mais il connoit tout aussi bien les moyens que nous avons de resister et les ressources que nous pouvons tirer de notre position et de notre courage; il y joint de plus le talent de persuader les esprits et de les ramener a son opinion, et j'avouerai avec plaisir que je lui accorde tous les droits a la mienne. Il a dcterminé le 19 de ce mois, la ligne de Bataille dans la quelle notre escadre doit combattre, il en appuye la droite a l'Isle de Ross Island, dans la quelle il fait mettre en batterie quarante pieces de canon de 36, de 24 et de 12 livres de balle et la gauche de nos sept vaisseaux embossés est assurée par la batterie construite a Brentons point, composée de 8 pieces de 24 et de 4 mortiers de 12 pouces de diametre. Quatre autres mortiers de 8 pouces et 4 pieces de 24, sont destinées a porter les 1ers coups a l'ennemi l'ors qu'il sera enfourné dans la passe.

Telle est la position dans la quelle notre escadre attend l'attaque des ennemis il est possible qu'elle succombe, le nombre peut l'accabler, mais c'est dans les occasions les plus perilleuses qu'un grand courage peut se deployer, la gloire est proportionée au danger que l'on court, et quand l'on n'a rien a gagner sur l'ennemi, quand on a cependant la ressource d'une superbe defense, on ne doit pas balancer a prendre le parti de la faire, se sacrifier même s'il le faut.

On peut s'illustrer en se perdant; les larmes que l'ennemi donnera a sa victoire seront un homage qu'il nous rendra, et la posterité nous les comptera peut etre pour des lauriers.

Du 18 au 30 de Septembre nous avons continuellement été occupés a perfectionner nos dispositions de defense; nous avons vecu jusques la, dans l'esperance de voir arriver la flotte de Mr le Comte de Guichen que nous jugeons tous devoir etre a la poursuitte de l'Amiral Rodney; mais nous avons été detrompés a cet egard par l'arrivée de la fregatte la *Gentille* venant du cap François, elle nous a instruit du départ de Mr de Guichen des Antilles, escortant un convoi trés considerable que l'on croit qu'il conduira jusqu'en France. La Gentille est arrivée le 30* et avoit a son bord Mr de Choisi et neuf Officiers François, dont Mr de Thuillieres Capitaine au regt Ral Deuxponts.

Rodney n'ayant rien entrepris dans les quinze premiers jours de son arrivée, il etoit presque certain qu'il n'entreprendroit plus rien; la lenteur et les retards lui faisoient perdre tous ses avantages, et vers le 4 ou le 5 Octobre, nous etions persuadés que nous ne serions plus attaqués, et que l'objet de l'Amiral Rodney etoit plutôt de reparer ses vaisseaux, mal traités dans les combats qu' il a eu a soutenir contre Mr de Guichen, que de nous combattre. Nous avons desesperé alors de sortir de notre inaction, et nous avons commencé a nous occuper de nos quartiers d'hyver, on a travaillé a force a la reparation et a l'arrangement des mai-

* Le même jour nous avons appris la nouvelle de la trahison infame du General Arnold, et nous apprenons en même tems que le Major André, aide de camp de confiance du Gal Clinton a été arreté deguisé, par des soldats de [la] milice Americaine, et que ce Major André etoit chargé par Clinton de sa negociation avec Arnold.

sons destinées au logement des troupes, et Mr de Rochambeau a fixé la fin du mois pour l'evacuation du camp et notre entrée a Newport.

Le 28 D'Octobre, les fregattes l'Amazone, la Surveillante et l'Hermione ont appareillé, la premiere va en France, et passe le Vicomte de Rochambeau a son bord, Les deux autres fregattes vont croiser, je ne scais ou.

le 31 Octobre, la Brigade de Bourbonnois a quittée le camp de Newport et a pris ses quartiers d'hyver dans la ville, elle a été suivie le 1er de Novembre par la Brigade de Soisonnois.

Le 10 de Novembre, les deux Escadrons des Hussars, de la legion de Lauzun, ont quitté Newport pour aller prendre leurs quartiers, a Lebanon dans l'etat du Connecticut.

le 15 de Decembre Monsieur le Chevalier de Ternay Chef D'Escadre, est mort, et n'a emporté aucuns regrets. Monsieur Destouches, le plus ancien des Capitaines de vaisseaux de l'Escadre en a pris le commandement, et toutes les opinions se reunissent en sa faveur.

L'Escadre a ordre de se tenir prete a sortir, quatre vaisseaux paroissent etre destinés a appareiller incessamment, pour aller au devant des fregattes la Surveillante et l'Hermione (maintenant a Boston) ou elles sont rentrées aprés leur croisiere, et qui doivent bientot rentrer a Rhode Island.

CAMPAGNE DE L'ANNÉE 1781

Le 20 de Janvier, les vaisseaux *l'Eveillé* et *l'ardent*, et la fregatte la *Gentille* ont appareillé pour assurer le retour des fregattes la *Surveillante* et *l'Hermione ;* ils ont essuyé du trés mauvais tems et sont rentrés le 21

Dans la nuit du 22 au 23 il y a eu un trés fort coup de vent qui a fait echouer un vaisseau de ligne anglois a la pointe de Montuc, un autre vaisseau anglois a été dematé. le 26 nos deux fregattes sont rentrées ici le 26 avec *l'Isle de France,* Gabarre, ces batimens out un peu souffert du mauvais tems.

Le Vaisseau anglois qui a peri dans le dernier coup de vent, est le *Culloden* de 74 canons et le vaisseau dematé est le *Betford* de même force ; les ennemis stationnés a Gardners Bay, et instruits que nous attendions deux fregattes, ont fait sortir trois vaisseaux pour intercepter leur retour et c'est cette croisiere qui leur a été si funeste.

le 8 de Fevrier a sept heures du soir, le vaisseau *l'Eveillé* les fregattes la *Surveillante* et la *Gentille* et le cutter la *Guepe* ont appareillé, on ignore leur destination mais tout nous porte a croire qu'ils vont a la riviere de James dans la baye de Chesapeack, (ou Arnold est debarqué avec 1500 hommes) pour bruler ses vaisseaux de transport, et combattre un vaisseau de 50 canons et deux fregattes qui forment son escorte, et qui sont embossés pour le soutenir.

Le 25 Fevrier a trois heures aprés midi, l'on a signalé quatre voiles et a six heures du soir, *L'Eveillé* la *Surveillante* et la *Gentille* sont rentrés ici, amenant avec eux le *Romulus* vaisseau Anglois de 44 canons et percé a cinquante quatre,

que l'Eveillé a pris a la hauteur du cap Henri. L'Objet de la sortie de L'Eveillé etoit la destruction des batimens D'Arnold, mais l'Eveillé tire trop d'eau, et n'a pas pu s'enfoncer asséz avant dans la riviere de James, pour entrer dans la riviere d'Elisabeth, qui communique avec la riviere de James, et dans la quelle toute la flotille Angloise est mouillée; l'Eveillé a été obligé de renoncer a atteindre le Charon de 50 Canons et les deux fregattes qui y sont et qui ont été obligés de s'alleger pour y parvenir; la Surveillante qui s'etoit un peu trop avancée, a même été echouée pendant vingt quatre heures, et l'on a été obligé de la decharger de ses canons pour la remettre a flot. L'expedition de L'Eveillé dans la baye de Chesapeack, s'est bornée a la prise de trois corsaires et six briques ou senaux les petits batimens ont été brulés et les corsaires conduits a York Town; L'impossibilité de faire d'autres entreprises determina le retour de M^r^ de Tilly, qui faisant route pour revenir a Rhode Island decouvrit un batiment et le chassa; le batiment prenant les vaisseaux chasseurs pour des navires de sa nation, ne prit chasse, qu'au môment ou il fit des signaux de reconnoissance, auxquels on ne repondit point. L'Eveillé l'atteignit bientot, lui presenta son travers a la portée du pistolet, la Gentille le gagna par la Hanche et on lui cria dans cette position d'amener son pavillon, il amena son pavillon, on lui cria d'amener sa flamme; il amena sa flamme; enfin le Romulus se rendit a l'Eveillé, sans tirer un seul coup de canon, et si l'on ne peut pas vanter son courage, il est du moins permis de juger sa docilité extreme. M^r^ de Tilly amarina sa prise, et fit sans perdre de tems, route pour revenir a Rhode Island. Grande joye a Newport; mais nous sommes trés inquiets du sort du cutter la *Guepe* sorti avec M^r^ de Tilly, qui s'en est separé le lendemain de sa sortie, et dont on n'a

aucunes nouvelles, le Chevalier de Maulevrier qui commande ce cutter et qui a beaucoup de qualités amiables, joint toutes celles de son etat; est l'objet particulier de nos inquietudes

Le 27 Fevrier nous avons reçu la nouvelle de l'arrivée de la fregatte l'astrée a Boston, elle est partie de Brest, et a fait une traversée de 63 jours.

Le 6 de Mars, le General Washington est arrivé a Newport et a été reçu avec tous les honneurs dus a un Marechal de France.

Le 8 de Mars, toute notre escadre, composée du Duc de *Bourgogne*, du Neptune du *Conquerant* de *L'Eveillé* du *Jason*, de la *Provence* de *l' ardent*, du *Romulus* des fregattes la *Surveillante* et l'*Hermione* et du vaisseau le *Fantasque* armé en flutte a mis a la voile a six heures du soir, elle à a bord, quatre Compagnies de Grenadiers et Chasseurs, un detachment de 164 hommes de chacun de nos regiments et 100 hommes d'artillerie, le tout composant 1156 hommes, on a embarqué des pieces de canon de 16 et de 12, des obusiers, des pieces d'artillerie de campagne, tout l'attirail necessaire pour attaquer des retranchemens, nous ne doutons pas de l'intention d'attaquer Arnold conjointement avec 1500 hommes de l'armée Americaine, commandés par le M^ls^ de la Fayette, et toutes les milices de l'etat de la Virginie. C'est le B^on^ de Viomesnil qui commande l'expedition, le M^ls^ de Laval, le Vicomte de Noailles, M^rs^ D'Anselme et de Gambs, sont les Officiers superieurs employés a ses ordres.

Le 10 Mars a onze heures du matin, l'escadre Angloise a appareillé de la baye de Gardner et nous ne pouvons pas douter qu'elle ne soit a la poursuitte de la notre. Les circonstances du départ de l'ennemi, prouvent de l'activité. Arbuthnot instruit des preparatifs de notre escadre envoya a la decouverte, un vaisseau et une fregatte qui parurent le 9,

devant le Goulet de Rhode Island s'en approcherent de trés prés, mirent en panne et y resterent asséz de tems pour voir d'une maniere certaine s'il y avoit encore dans notre rade des vaisseaux de guerre ou non, convaincus de ce qu 'ils vouloient scavoir, ces deux batimens virerent de bord, mirent toutes voiles dehors, et prirent la route de Gardners Bay, ils arriverent a la vue de leur escadre le lendemain matin, et du plus loin qu 'ils purent etre apperçus, firent des signaux convenus, auxquels les ennemis appareillerent sur le champ. Leur escadre est composée* de onze voiles, huit vaisseaux et trois fregattes.

Le General-Washington est parti de Newport le 13 Mars, on lui a rendu a son départ, les mêmes honneurs qu' a son arrivée.

Nous sommes persuadés que l'escadre Angloise, partie quarante heures aprés la notre, ne pourra pas l'atteindre, et empecher son entrée dans la baye de Chesapeack, et cette supposition entraine neccessairement l'esperance que l'expedition projettée contre Arnold, sera heureuse. Nous nous attendons que l'ennemi voudra se venger sur nous, et tentera d'entrer et de bruler nos batimens de transport, ce dedommage[me]nt ne pourra cependant pas, quand même il reussiroit etre une consolation de la perte que nous lui ferons eprouver en Virginie, et nous augmentons ici les retranchemens de toutes nos batteries, et particulierement celles de Goad Island, pour lui préparer une vigoureuse reception.

Le 26 Mars on est venu pendant que nous dinions, nous dire, que l'on signaloit plusieurs batimens de guerre; que M[r]

* Notre escadre a appareillée dans la ferme persuasion que le Betford, vaisseau Anglois, demate dans le coup de vent du 22 au 23 de Janvier, n'avoit pas encore pu etre mis en etat de sortir, il est certain cependant qu'il fait nombre dans son escadre

le C^te^ de Rochambeau a qui on en avoit rendu comte, montoit a cheval pour aller a la perche des signaux que l'artillerie avoit ordre de se porter aux batteries, que les Grenadiers et detachemens destinés a la defense de Goad Island se tenoient pretes a y etre transportés, et que tout en General, se preparoit a marcher aux postes designés d'avance par le General, nous avons aussitot interrompu notre repas et nous nous sommes mis a la suite du General; nous avons effectivement vu ces voiles, portant droit sur Rhode Island, et il nous etoit impossible encore de distinguer si elles etoient amies ou ennemies; nous avons resté a peu prés une heure dans l'incertitude, aprés la quelle nous avons reconnu notre escadre, qui est éntrée le même soir dans la Rade de Newport, et nous appris que contrariée par le mauvais tems, par les vents contraires, et peut etrè par une conoissance imparfaite des vents regnans sur la côte; elle n'avoit pu, (etant partie le 8 Mars) atteindre que le 14 Mars, la hauteur du Cap Charles; que le vent de Nord Ouest l'avoit forcée d'y croiser pendant deux jours, que le 16 au matin le vent adonna; je joins ici le detail du combat donné le même jour entre les deux escadres.

Vendredi 16 Mars a 12 lieues environ dans l'est de la baye de Chesapeack; l'escadre du Roy, aux ordres de Monsieur Destouches, couroit bien rassemblée, le cap au Nord, les amures a bas-bord, les vents foibles au Sud Est, la mer grosse, le tems trés brumeux; a six heures et demi[e] du matin, la fregatte l'Hermione, signala une voile au vent, qu' elle reçut ordre d'aller reconnaitre conjointement avec le vaisseau L'eveillé; quelques tems aprés la Flutte le Fantasque ayant découvert dix autres voiles au Sud de l'horizon, en fit les signaux d'avertissement; le vaisseau Commd^t^ fit aussitot celui du branlebas du combat, et ordonna de se

mettre en bataille, les amures a bas bord: pendant l'execution de ce mouvement, les vents passoient successivement au Nord, ensuite au N.N.E. et se fixerent au Nord Est, ce qui plaça l'escadre Françoise, au vent de l'Escadre Angloise a la distance de trois lieues; elle avoit été forcée de suivre les vents a mesure qu'ils changoient et l'orsque la brume fut un peu dissippée, elle reparut dans la hanche de stribord, portant ainsi que nos vaisseaux a l'Est Sud Est. A neuf heures on fit le signal au Fantasque de serrer le vent et de forcer de voiles, et a toute l'escadre celui de virer vent devant par la contremarche, le vent commençoit a souffler avec force, la voilure commune etoit la misaine et les huniers; l'ardent et l'Eveillé rompirent leurs grandes vergues et nos vaisseaux avoient a peine terminé la manoeuvre ordonnée que l'escadre ennemie, prit les mêmes amures, tenant le plus avec beaucoup de voiles, l'inegalité de la marche des vaisseaux ennemis les sépara en deux divisions, tandis que l'escadre Françoise toujours en ligne stribord s'occupoit a prendre tous les ris; les frigattes angloises et quelques uns de leurs vaisseaux de tete portoient des perroquets. Vers onze heures ils approchoient sensiblement le serre file François, M^r^ des Touches fit alors une contremarche Lof pour Lof, courant en bataille a bord opposé, la ligne Françoise fut trés regulierement formée, et les premiers vaisseaux ennemis diminuerent a l'instant de voile et arriverent de deux quarts; Leur Amiral les rallia bientot, continua toujours la même bordée en serrant le vent, et les deux lignes se prolongerent alors, a toute la volée du gros canon. a midi $\frac{1}{2}$ les ennemis qui portoient beaucoup plus de voiles que les vaisseaux François, se trouverent a portée de virer vent devant dans les eaux de l'escadre Françoise qui n'augmenta pas de voile, et a une heure le chef de file Anglois n'etoit gueres qu'a la petite

portée du serrefile François; la mer etoit grosse, il ventoit trés frais, plusieurs batteries basses etoient presque noyées; Mr Destouches se decida a virer vent arriere par une seconde contremarche pour pouvoir attaquer sous le vent; cette manoeuvre fut promptement executée, les vaisseaux de téte eurent ordre d'arriver de quatre quarts. les Anglois sentirent que leur superiorité devenoit inutile s'ils se battoient au vent a bord opposé; leur premier vaisseau arriva en consequence sur le Conquerant aux mêmes amures; il etoit une heure et demie, et les vaisseaux des lignes respectives commencerent alors a se canonner de trés prés; le feu devint vif a mesure qu'ils arrivoient dans les eaux de leurs matelots d'avant. Le Conquerant vaisseau de tete qui se battoit depuis une demie heure, l'orsque le dernier vaisseau François commença le combat contre le 5ieme de la ligne Angloise, avoit deja beaucoup souffert dans ses voiles et ses agrés, il tomba sous le vent et fut attaqué par plusieurs gros vaisseaux contre les quels il fit un feu continu; le Duc de Bourgogne et le Neptune arriverent pour le defendre, ce mouvement doubla necessairement la ligne pendant quelques minutes, les Anglois vouloient profiter de ces circonstances pour ecraser le serrefil François; Le London gouverna dans la hanche du vent et deux autres vaisseaux se tinrent dans sa poupe a portée de mousqueterie, heureusement ils laisserent echapper l'instant de mettre en travers, le Duc de Bourgogne et le Conquerant firent sur eux un trés grand feu qui ne leur laissoit que le tems de faire quelques arrivées en envoyant deux volées presque sans aucun effet, quant au London, dés qu'on put lui presenter le travers, il essuya a peine quelques volées et se rallia au vent de son escadre degrayé de sa grande vergue de hune. Les derniers coups de canon cesserent sur les trois heures, on voyoit alors distinctement deux vaisseaux

ennemis trés maltraités; Mr Destouches fit signal de retablir la ligne, mais le Conquerant repondit qu'il ne pouvoit pas recommencer le combat, alors le General indiqua l'air de vent Sud Est a petite voilure, les ennemis resterent en panne pour se reparer, a 5 heures on dit qu'ils portoient a l'Ouest; Le lendemain L'escadre Françoise fit differentes routes et passa l'aprés midi en panne, le Conquerant se repara, les autres vaisseaux avoient peu souffert. Dimanche Dix huit on chassa un gros batiment qui fut pris et amariné par l'Hermione.

Le Combat a été vif, bien conduit et fait honneur a la marine Françoise, mais l'objet est manqué et la gloire n'est qu'une chimere quand elle n'offre point de resultats avantageux. Le *Conquerant, l'ardent* et le *Jason* sont les trois vaisseaux qui ont donné le plus et Mrs de La Grandiere de Marigni et de La Clocheterie sont les trois Capitaines qui ont pu montrer le plus, leur valeur et leur habilité. L'Escadre Angloise etoit composée, de huit vaisseaux un de 98, trois de 74, trois de 64 et un de 50. L'Escadre Françoise etoit composée d'un vaisseau de 80, deux de 74 quatre de 64 et un de 44, l'ennemi etoit superieur et ne peut se vanter d'aucun avantage, mais ce ne sont que des coups donnés et rendus.

le 13 D'Avril nous avons appris que le cutter La *Guepe* dont nous n'avions pas entendu parler depuis sa separation de L'Eveillé, s'est perdu sur le cap Charles, mais que le Chevalier de Maulevrier et tout son equipage s'etoient sauvés.

le 18 D'Avril tous les batimens de transport frettés au compte du Roy qui avoient porté nos troupes, ont mis a la voile pour St Dominique, sous l'escorte des fregattes la Surveillante et l'hermione, la derniere de ces deux fregattes,

quittera le convoi a la hauteur de la Delaware pour aller a Philadelphie, mais la Surveillante le conduira jusqu'a sa destination.

Le 6 Mai la fregatte la *Concorde* est arrivée de France a Boston en quarante et quelques jours de traversée, elle avoit a son bord M^r^ le C^te^ de Barras chef D'Escadre qui remplace le Chevalier de Ternay, et le Vicomte de Rochambeau.

Le 18 de Mai, on a embarque a bord de nos huit vaisseaux de guerre, sept cents cinquante hommes, tirés par detachemens, de nos regiments, de l'artillerie et de la legion de Lauzun, on croit que l'escadre a demandée ces troupes, pour la croisiere par la quelle elle doit protéger l'arrivée du convoi que nous attendons de France.

Le même jour on a signalé l'escadre Angloise, qui a mouillée entre Block Island et la pointe Judith, au nombre de neuf voiles toutes, vaisseaux de ligne.

le 22 Mai un petit convoi de six voiles, que nous attendions de Boston, a paru et a été signalé a la hauteur de Betford; M^r^ de Barras aussitot qu'il en reçut la nouvelle, prit la resolution d'appareiller pour sauver ce petit convoi qu'il eut été honteux de laisser prendre a notre vue, il fit le signal a l'escadre de se tenir prete a appareiller, mais le vent etant directement contraire aux Anglois tandis qu'il favorisoit les notres, il devint inutile d'effectuer le projet de M^r^ de Barras, qui ce me semble cherchera dans tous les cas, a soutenir vigoureusement l'honneur de la marine Françoise.

Les Anglois etablis depuis le 18 Mai entre Block Island et la pointe Judith ont quitté leur station le 23 Mai; on ignore ou ils vont.

le 5 de Juin nos troupes embarquées sur l'escadre ont été débarquées.

Tout le mois de Mai et le commencement de Juin, avoient été occupés aux preparatifs du départ des troupes Françoises de L'isle de Rhode Island au transport de tous les magazins a Providence et Hartford, a la disposition des marches et des camps a l'achat de chevaux pour l'Artillerie, et a celui des Boeufs pour les Wagons, et aux dispositions pour les vivres et les fourages;

le 18 de Mai, M^r^ le Comte de Rochambeau et M^r^ le Chevalier de Chastelux sont partis de Newport pour aller trouver a *Walter Field* (prés de Hartford) le General Washington, avec lequel ils avoient un rendézvous; nos Generaux sont revenus le 26 et du môment de leur retour tous les préparatifs ont redoublé d'activité, M^r^ le C^te^ de Rochambeau et M^r^ de Barras ont eus ensemble plusieurs conferences il paroissoit decidé que notre escadre quitteroit la rade de Newport, en même tems que nous en abandonnerions les postes, qu' elle iroit a Boston ou elle seroit plus en sureté contre toute entreprise, qu'a Rhode Island, ou elle etoit exposée, dés qu'elle n'etoit plus soutenu par des troupes de terre en nombre considerable, cette resolution dont les Generaux, même paroissoient convenir, fut suivie d'un môment d'indecision. M^r^ de Rochambeau, etoit d'avis que l'escadre devoit rester a Rhode Island, M^r^ de Barras vouloit aller a Boston, il etoit essentiel cependant de reunir les avis, de se concerter et de prendre une resolution fixe. Pour terminer toute indecision et toute discussion, on assembla le 31 Mai, un conseil de Guerre a Bord du Duc de Bourgogne, composé de M^r^ de Barras, et des Capitaines de vaisseaux d'une part, et de nos Generaux, Brigadiers et Commandans de Brigades de l'autre; la seance dura cinq heures, les decisions furent tenues secrettes, le Duc de Lauzun fut chargé de les aller porter au General Washington a New Windsor; deux jours aprés l'on vit que

L'escadre ne faisoit plus de préparatifs de depart, et l'on sent que le projet etoit de la laisser a Rhode Island et de la faire garder du coté de terre par quatre cents hommes de nos troupes tirés par detachemens de nos quatre regimens, et d'y joindre quinze cents hommes de Milice americaine, le tout commandé par Mr de Choisi. Le Duc de Lauzun revint le 8 de Juin de New Windsor avec la reponse du Gal Washington, et deux heures aprés, les mêmes personnes qui avoient compose le premier Conseil de Guerre, se rassemblerent a bord du Neptune et vinrent aprés quatre heures de seance, a bord du Duc de Bourgogne, ou Mr de Barras nous avoit invité a un grand diner. Le Lendemain neuf de Juin, la Brigade de Bourbonnois, reçut l'ordre de s'embarquer avec armes et bagages, sur des petits batimens americains qui nous transporteroient a Providence.

le 10 de Juin a cinq heures du matin, la Brigade de Bourbonnois s'est embarquée sur les petits batimens qui lui etoient destinés, et n'est arrivée a Providence qu'a neuf heures du soir; il etoit impossible ce même soir d'aller marquer le camp, de camper et de recevoir la paille et le bois qui lui etoient necessaires; Mr le Baron de Viomesnil obtint pour ce soir la, des magistrats de la ville, quelques grandes maisons vuides dans lesquelles on coucha les soldats et le lendemain onze, a six heures du matin, nous avons été camper sur la hauteur qui domine Providence a l'Ouest, la Brigade de Soisonnois est arrivée ce même jour et campe a notre gauche.

L'escadre du Roy est definitivement restée a Newport, elle est gardée par quatre cents hommes de nos troupes et des milices americaines qui arrivent fort lentement et qui ont dit on, des engagemens trés courts a remplir. Nous resterons huit jours dans le camp de Providence, et ce

tems nous est necessaire pour rassembler les chevaux de L'Artillerie, de l'Hopital ambulant, les Wagons qui portent nos equipages, les bocufs qui doivent les trainer et pour attendre quatre cents cinquante hommes destinés pour notre armée et qui viennent d'arriver a Boston sur le convoi venant de France.

De Providence nous devons dit on, nous rendre en quatorze jours dont douze de marche, et deux [de] sejours a la riviere D'Hudson, ou nous attendrons de nouveaux ordres; les marches d'ici la, ne se faisant pas dans la proximité de l'ennemi, doivent pour plus grande commodité, se faire regiment par regiment.

le 16 de Juin, Monsieur le Baron de Viomesnil a passé notre revue d'entreé de campagne, le même jour nos recrues sont arrivées de Boston.

le 18 de Juin le regiment de Bourbonnois, le 19 le reg^{t} de R^{al} Deuxpoints, le 20 le reg^{t} de Soisonnois, et le 21 le reg^{t} de Saint Onge, ont successivement quitté le camp de Providence et en conservant toujours entre nous la distance d'une journée de marche, nous avons été camper le premier jour a *Wattermans Tavern* le second a *Plain field*, le troisieme a *Windham*.* le quatrieme a *Bolton* et le 5$^{\text{ieme}}$ a *Hartford*. Chaque regiment y sejournera pendant deux jours et nous nous remettrons ensuite en marche dans le même ordre dans lequel nous sommes arrivés a Hartford.

* a Windham, nous campions dans un petit vallon entouré de bois, une heure aprés notre arrivée, le feu a pris dans le bois qui est a la gauche du camp, nous avons employé trois cents hommes a l'eteindre, mais nous n'y sommes pas parvenus, le feu ne ravageoit que les broussailles et n'attaquoit pas les gros arbres; cet accident, effrayant dans tous les pays est asséz indifferent aux Americains dont le pays est rempli de forets, ils en sont même quelque fois bien aise parceque cela leur epargne la peine de les couper pour defricher les terres.

Arrivé le 22 de Juin, le regiment de Bourbonnois a levé son camp le 25, le regiment de Royal Deuxponts le 26, le reg^{t} de Soisonnois le 27 et le reg^{t} de Saint Onge le 28 et ont été camper le premier jour de leur marche a *Farmington*, le second a *Barons Tavern* le troisieme a *Breack Neck* et le quatrieme a *Newtown ;*

Tous ces differens camps que nous avons pris depuis notre départ de Newport n'avoient d'autre objet que celui de faire du chemin, et nous etions beaucoup trop eloignés de l'ennemi pour avoir d'autres precautions a prendre que celles qu' exigeoit notre discipline interieure; On ne s'est occupé jusques la, que de notre commodité et de ce qui pouvoit epargner de la fatigue aux troupes; mais arrivés a New Town on eut été coupable de negligence si on avoit continué a temoigner la même confiance dans l'impossibilité des tentatives de l'ennemi. M^{r} le C^{te} de Rochambeau detacha pour la premiere fois a New Town, le bataillon de Grenadiers et chasseurs de la Brigade de Bourbonnois. Le General avoit en premier lieu, le projet d'y rassembler nos quatre regiments, et de nous faire partir ensuite Brigade par Brigade a une journée de distance. la Brigade de Bourbonnois devoit se mettre en marche le 2 de Juillet et la Brigade de Soisonnois le 3. Mais un courier que M^{r} de Rochambeau reçut dans la nuit du 30 de Juin au 1^{ier} Juillet du General Washington hâta notre départ; on battit le premier a deux heures du matin et la Brigade de Bourbonnois decampa et quitta New Town le 1er de Juillet; le reg^{t} de Soisonnois reste dans sa position pour attendre le regiment de Saint Onge qui n'arrive qu'aujourd'hui, et les deux regiments reunis se mettront en marche demain 2 de Juillet.

La Brigade de Bourbonnois a été camper le même jour a *Ridge Bury*, le lendemain 2 de Juillet a *Betford* et le 3 a

North Castle, ou nous avons été joints par la Brigade de Soisonnois qui a doublé une marche et est arrivée en un jour de Ridge Bury a North Castle.

Les Grenadiers et chasseurs continuent a etre detachés. La Legion de Lauzun qui nous avoit joint hier deux de Juillet a Betford, en est repartie le même soir renforcée par les Dragons Américains de *Scheldon* pour aller a la poursuitte de quatre cents Toris qui se sont montrés dans ces environs, et qui ont enlevé des bestiaux.

Pendant la marche que nous avons fait[e] pour nous rendre de Newport aux bords de la riviere D'Hudson, le General Washington dont les mouvements etoient concertés avec les notres, a quitté son quartier D'hyver pris a New Windsor, et s'est porté sur *Peaks Kill* sur la riviere du Nord, (ou Hudson) ou d'aprés le projet convenu, l'Armée Françoise et l'armée Americaine devoient se reunir; arrivé a Peaks Kill le G^{al} Washington reçut la nouvelle de la sortie d'un corps de troupes Angloises de l'Isle de New York, et qui s'etoit porté sur West Cheaster; il resolut de le faire attaquer, il forma en consequence une avant garde aux ordres du G^{al} Lincoln de mille ou donze cents hommes, il envoya en même tems un courier a M^{r} de Rochambeau pour l'avertir de ses desseins, pour lui donner un autre rendéz vous de reunion, pour lui faire hâter la marche de notre armée et pour lui demander la Legion de Lauzun. C'est la, la raison qui nous a fait partir a l'improviste de New Town, qui a fait partir la legion de Lauzun le même soir de son arrivée a Betford, qui a fait doubler une marche a la Brigade de Soisonnois, et qui nous a fait porter a North Castle, a portée et prets a marcher au premier ordre qui eut requis notre presence; que seroit devenue necessaire, si la demarche des Anglois, celle du G^{al} Washington et la notre avoient engagé une action serieuse et generale.

L' avant garde aux ordres du G^al Lincoln, descendit la riviere du Nord sur des bateaux, le G^al Washington en suivit les bords pour aller a l'appui de Lincoln, la legion de Lauzun, et les Dragons de Scheldon, arrivoient d'un autre coté et nous, nous attendrions les evenemens a North Castle. Bref, le General Lincoln attaqua le 3 de Juillet; soit qu'il s'y soit mal pris,* qu'il ait attaqué trop tot ou qu'il ait eu affaire a un ennemi trop nombreux, il fut repousé, perdit quatre vingt hommes tués ou blessés et se replia sur le G^al Washington qui avoit pris avec sa petite armée, une position propre a favoriser la retraite de Lincoln. La Legion de Lauzun qui n'avoit entendue que le bruit des coups de fusil sans participer au combat se retira de son coté, et c'est ainsi que se termina une journée peu mémorable et peu glorieuse.

le 5 de Juillet le G^al Washington dont l'armée est deja campée dans la position que nous allons occuper demain, est venu nous voir a North Castle.

Le 6 de Juillet nous avons quitteé le camp de North Castle et sommes venus aprés une marche trés longue trés fatiguante et une chaleur affreuse; occuper le Camp de Philippsburg, ou notre reunion avec l'armée† americaine s'est effectuée. La droite des deux armées est appuyée a un Vallon et est placée sur une hauteur trés elevée et tres roide‡ qui domine ce vallon, au centre est un fonds dans lequel coule un petit ruisseau, ce fonds qui separe les François d'avec les

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* Nous n'avons jamais pu scavoir le vrai de cette attaque, ni des causes qui l'ont fait manquer, le Duc de Lauzun qui y etoit m'a affirmé lui même qu'il n'en scavoit rien

† On nous disoit a Newport l'armée Americaine forte de 10000 hommes; elle l'est de 2500 a 3000 hommes, et ce n'est pas mentir beaucoup pour des Americains.

‡ a trois milles de la riviere du Nord.

Americains, a des bords trés elevés et trés escarpés, la gauche est appuyée a un petit ruisseau, trés voisin de *Broukriver* sur la quelle nous avons des postes, le front du camp est couvert de bois et nous n'avons rien a craindre pour nos derrieres. La Legion de Lauzun campée a *White plains* a quatre milles de notre gauche, nous assure de ce coté la; toutes les avenues imaginables sont garnies de postes avancés tant Francois qu' americains et notre eloignement de *King's Bridge* n'est que de dix milles.

Le 8 de Juillet le G^al^ Washington a passé la revue d'honneur de l'armée Françoise.

le 14 de Juillet a six heures du soir, la brigade de Bourbonnois, les bataillons de Grenadiers et chasseurs des deux Brigades, et la legion de Lauzun reçurent l'ordre de marcher et la retraite devoit tenir lieu de la generale pour fixer le môment du départ; notre marche devoit etre combinée avec une grande partie de l'armée Americaine, mais a sept heures nous reçumes contre ordre.

le 15 de Juillet a dix heures et demie du soir nous entendimes plusieurs coups de canon, de la mousqueterie, et un môment aprés, on battit la Generale,* toute l'armée courut aux armes et fut formée en un instant, aprés avoir restés en bataille pendant une demie heure ou trois quarts d'heure, on nous donna l'ordre de rentrer dans nos tentes. A cinq heures du matin, une meprise pareille a celle de la veille, fit tirer des coups de canon d'allarme, mais on ne nous fit pas mettre sous les armes.

Dans la matinée du 16 Juillet, j'appris que les coups de canon de la veille avoient été tirés a Tarri Town (petit en-

* c'est une marque de zéle tres precipitée, trés mal entendue et trés deplacée qui a fait battre la Generale

droit au bord de la riviere D'Hudson, ou on avoit jusques la, debarqué les farines qui nous viennent des Jerseys) par deux fregattes Angloises qui avoient voulu soutenir une attaque faite par trois schoners Anglois dont l'intention etoit de prendre ou bruler cinq petits batimens chargés de farines; l'attaque fut infructueuse, ils parvinrent a la verité a mettre le feu a un de ces batimens, mais il fut eteint et la cargaison sauvée: On apprit que cette flotille Angloise etoit encore dans la même position que la veille; l'artillerie de West point n'etoit point arrivée; le G^{al} Washington demanda deux de nos pieces de douze et deux obusiers, qui partirent a l'instant, je precedai leur arrivée, j'attendis celle de nos pieces qui furent aussitôt mises en batterie et commencerent a tirer; nos cannoniers peu accoutumés a tirer sur l'eau porterent fort peu de leurs coups a bord des fregattes, qui nous tirerent quelques coups de canon, et se touerent ensuite hors de notre portée.

les fregattes resterent dans leur même position, le 17, et le 18; le 19 en redescendant la riviere du Nord pour retourner a New York elles furent saluées a leur passage a Dobs Ferry par deux pieces de canon et deux obusier qui y avoient été transportés, une obuse porta a bord, mit le feu a la fregatte, et y repandit une telle-terreur que vingt sept matelots se jetterent a l'eau, quelques uns furent noyés, trois furent faits prisonniers et les autres regagnerent la fregatte, sur la quelle le feu etoit eteint.

le 21 Juillet a six heures et demi[e] du soir, nous reçumes le même ordre que le 14 de ce mois, même quantité de troupes, tant Françoises qu' Americaines, même nombre de colonnes, même train d'artillerie et méme heure de départ.

Nous nous mimes en marche sur trois colonnes, a huit heures du soir et nous la dirigeames vers l'isle de New York,

par des chemins affreux qui ne nous permirent d'arriver qu' a quatre heures et demi[e] du matin, dans la plaine prés de Kings Bridge a vue des forts Anglois, nous nous mimes en bataille; l'armée Americaine dont la droite etoit appuyée a la riviere qui separe York Island du continent, avoit la droite de l'ordre de bataille, la Brigade de Bourbonnois le centre, et les deux bataillons de Grenadiers et Chasseurs la gauche; plusieurs corps de troupes americaines furent placés en avant et s'approcherent du fort (N° 8) que les Anglois possedent dans le continent et qui pouvoit etre de nous a la distance d'un mille et demi. Il s'engagea quelques petites escarmouches entre des Dragons Anglois et des Dragons Americains mais qui n'etoient d'aucune consequence. Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau et le General Washington allerent pendant la matinée reconnaitre les forts, on leur tira quelques coups de fusil et de canon; nous allames tous a mesure que nous en obtenions la permission faire nos reconnoissances particulieres; partout nous trouvames des chasseurs Hessois qui nous tiroient des coups de fusil et des que des forts, l'on voyoit un petit attroupement a portée, on tiroit du canon. Nous n'avions ni tentes ni bagages avec nous, les troupes bivouaquerent la nuit du 22 au 23, et resterent dans leur même position pendant la journée du 23 que les Generaux employerent aussi a faire leurs reconnoissances sur tous les points de l'isle D'York.

Du coté de Morissana, ils etoient couverts par le legion de Lauzun et un bataillon Americain, ils s'approcherent trés prés de deux pieces-de canon et de deux cents hommes postés qui firent un feu asséz vif de coups de canon et de coups de fusil; personne cependant ne fut ni tué ni blessé, le C^te^ de Damas seul, eut son cheval tué sous lui.

Le 23 a cinq heures du soir, toutes les reconnoisances

etant finies, le General nous [donna] l'ordre du départ; notre marche pour retourner, s'est faite dans l'ordre inverse de celui que nous avions suivi dans notre marche en avant, les ennemis n'ont pas tenté de nous troubler, et a onze heures du soir nous sommes rentrés dans le camp de Philippsburg.

Depuis le 23 de Juillet jusqu' au 14 D'Aoust nous avons tranquillement resté[s] dans notre même camp de Philippsburg, il n'y a eu d'operations un peu militaires que quelques fourrages a Moreneck et a New Rochelle sur le bord du Sound; ils etoient asséz dans le voisinage de l'ennemi, qu'il ait pu pour tirer parti et nous troubler. Nous avons pris pour la force et la disposition de la chaine qui devoit assurer ces fourrages, toutes les precautions que la proximité des anglois pouvoit exiger; mais notre adversaire est peu entreprenant et peu vigilant et aucun detachement n'a paru.

le 14 D'Aoust, nous avons reçu l'importante nouvelle de la prochaine arrivée de Monsieur le Comte de Grasse, dans les parages de l'Amerique Septentrionale; il a du, pour cet objet, mettre a la voile du Cap François, le 4 D'Aoust; il nous amene vingt huit vaisseaux de ligne, l'on annonce aussi trois mille hommes de troupes de debarquement, et toutes les garnisons des vaisseaux, doivent dit on, seconder nos operations de terre.

Le 19 Aoust, l'armée Françoise a quittée le camp de Philippsburg, nous ne connoissons pas l'objet de notre marche et nous ignorons parfaitement si nous entreprendrons sur New York, ou si nous allons en Virginie, attaquer le Lord Cornwallis qui dans ce moment ci occupe le poste de Portsmouth avec une considerable quantité de troupes. Une arriere garde etoit essentielle dans la circonstance actuelle; M[r] de Rochambeau, la forma des deux bataillons de Grenadiers et Chasseurs de l'armée et de la legion de Lauzun,

le V^te^ de Viomesnil la commande en chef; je commande le Bataillon de Grenadiers et Chasseurs de la Brigade de Bourbonnois, et le Chevalier de La Valette, Lieutenant Colonel du regiment de Saint Onge commande celui de la Brigade de Soisonnois; nons avons occupés les avenues de New York, pendant le deblai de l'armée et de son artillerie, les troupes se sont mises en marche a midi, et ce n'est qu'a deux heures et demi[e] que nous avons pu retirer nos postes, et commencer la notre. a un mille du camp les Bataillons de Grenadiers et chasseurs se sont reunis et a trés peu de distance de la, nous avons commencé a trouver des Wagons cassés que nous ne pouvions pas laisser en arriere, et qui ont si fort retardé notre marche, qu' a huit heures du soir nous n'avions encore faits que quatre milles; une pluie affreuse qui avoit abimée et rompu tous les chemins et qui nous avoit tous percé[s], engagea le Vicomte de Viomesnil, a nous faire arreter a la maison *D'Alexander Lark*, nous avons fait de grands feux, nous nous sommes sechés de notre mieux et nous avons bivouaqué.

Le 20 D'Aoust a une heure aprés midi nous nous sommes remis en marche et avons été jusqu' a *Leguids Tavern* ou nous sommes arrivés a onze heures du soir, et ou nous avons bivouaqué encore.

L'armée dont l'arriere garde avoit été separée pendant ces deux jours, avoit été [dans] celui de son départ jusqu' a *North Castel* ou elle n'est arrivée que le 20 D'Aoust a cinq heures du matin, aprés dix sept heures de marche consecutive, elle y a passé toute la journée du vingt et nous scavons que nous devons la rejoindre demain.

le 21 D'Aoust, nous avons quitté Leguids Tavern, et avons rejoint le corps de l'armée a *Peans Bridge* sur la riviere du *Crotton*, de la, le Bataillon de Grenadiers et Chasseurs de

Bourbonnois a fait l'arriere garde immediate de l'armée, et celui de Soisonnois a reçu l'ordre de rester sur le bord du Crotton jusqu'a ceque tous les equipages fussent passés. Nous avons marché ce jour la jusqu'a *Hounds Tavern* ou nous avon retrouvé nos tentes et campé. Mon bataillon a campé separement sur le flanc gauche de l'armée.

Le 22 D'Aoust, j'ai fait l'avant garde immediate de l'armée, jusqu'au camp de *Verplanks Point* sur la riviere du Nord; les Grenadiers et chasseurs y reçurent l'ordre de rentrer dans leur regiments et nous nous preparons, a passer la riviere avec toute la promptitude possible, la grosse artillerie et la Legion de Lauzun, doivent passer aujourd'hui encore et prendre poste de l'autre coté de la riviere D'Hudson.

La journée du 23 Aoust a été employée a embarquer et a faire passer les equipages.*

Le 24 Aoust la Brigade de Bourbonnois a passé la riviere D'Hudson et a été camper a *Haverstrow* prés de la maison de Smitt dans la quelle Arnold a formé avec le Major Anglois André le complot infame de trahir sa patrie.

Voici maintenant notre ordre de marche le G^{al} Washington avec prés de trois mille hommes nous precede d'un jour, la brigade de Bourbonnois et la legion de Lauzun, suivent le lendemain, et la marche de l'armée combinée est terminée le troisieme jour par la Brigade de Soisonnois. Le General Washington a laissé au camp de Werplanks point, le General

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*.Un ennemi un peu hardi et un peu habile eut saisi une circonstance aussi favorable pour lui, et aussi embarassante pour nous, que celle de notre passage de la riviere du Nord; je ne connois pas l'indifference avec la quelle le G^{al} Clinton considere nos mouvemens, elle est pour moi une enigme indechiffrable, et j'espre que l'on n'aura jamais a me reprocher d'en donner a deviner de pareilles.

Heates avec trois mille hommes pour defendre l'etat de New York et le cours de la riviere du Nord, j'ignore si [le] corps conservera sa position ou s'il remontra jusqu'a West point.

le 25 Aoust, nous avons été camper a Soffrin

le 26 Aoust nous avons marché a *Pompton.** Le corps du G^al Washington se separe de nous, et a l'air de se porter vers Paulus Hock ou vers Staten Island; je ne puis fixer mon opinion sur l'objet de notre marche, je suis tenté de croire que les Americains agiront sur un des deux points qu'ils menacent, et je suis bien certain qu'ils n'opereront point sans nous.

Le 27 Aoust, nous avons été camper a *Hanover* ou *Vibani* prés de Morris Town. nous devons [y] sejourner demain. C'est ici que j'ai appris sous le plus grand secret d'un de mes amis, bien instruit, que toutes les manoeuvres par les quelles on a l'air d'en vouloir a New York ne sont qu'une feinte, que Lord Cornwallis est l'objet reel de nos marches. et que nous allons les diriger vers la Virginie.

le 29 Aoust nous avons campé a *Bullions Tavern*

le 30 Aoust a *Sommerset*

le 31 Aoust a *Prince Town*

le 1^er de Septembre nous avons marché a *Trenton* ou nous passons la Delaware nous conservons nos tentes, mais les equipages passent dés aujourd'hui la riviere a gué. Demain matin les troupes la passeront en bateaux.

le 2 nous avons campé a *Red Lions Tavern*

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* Aprés que les troupes etoient etablies dans leur camp, j'ai profité du voisinage dans lequel nous nous trouvions du *Totoha Fall* pour l'aller voir, Quoique fatigué, je n'ai point regretté dix milles pour aller et dix mille pour revenir qu'il a fallu que je fasse pour satisfaire ma curiosité et j'ai trouvé le spectacle de cette cascade aussi singulier qu'il est imposant

le 3 de Septembre nous avons marché a *Philadelphie* le congrés s'est trouvé a notre passage, nous lui avons rendsu les honneurs que le Roy nous ordonne de lui rendre, les treize membres ont oté leur treize chapeaux a chaque salut de drapeau et d'officier et c'est la, tout ce que j'en ai vu d'honnete et de remarquable. Aprés avoir traversé Philadelphie nous avons été camper au bord de la riviere du *Schulkill*, a une bonne mille du avant [devant ?] de la ville. Nous sejournons demain.

le 5 de Septembre nous avons été camper a *Cheaster* ou nous avons appris la nouvelle certaine de l'arrivée du compte de Grasse avec vingt huit vaisseaux de ligne et trois mille cinq cents hommes de troupes aux ordres du Marquis de S^{t} Simon qu'il a debarqué. le 27 Aoust, lendemain de son arrivée, avec ordre de se joindre au corps du M^{ls} de la Fayette.

La joye qu'une aussi heureuse nouvelle répand parmi toutes nos troupes, celle dont elle pénétre le* G^{al} Washington et M^{r} le C^{te} de Rochambeau, est plus aisée a sentir qu'a exprimer. Le môment qui doit etre la recompense de nos peines de nos fatigues et de notre eloignement approche, et j'espere que nous la sasirons.

le 6 de Septembre nous avons campé a *Wilmington*

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* jai été aussi surpris que j'ai été touché de la joye bien vraie et bien pure du G^{al} Washington. D'un naturel froid et d'un abord grave, et noble qui chez lui n'est que veritable dignité et qui sied si bien au chef de toute une nation, ses traits, sa phisionomie, son maintien tout a changé en un instant; il s'est depouillé de sa qualité d'arbitre de l'amerique Septentrionale et s'est contenté pendant un môment de celle du citoyen heureux, du bonheur de son pays; un enfant dont tous les voeux eussent été comblés n'eut pas prouvé une sensation plus vive, et je crois faire honneur aux sentimens de cet homme rare, en cherchant a en exprimer toute la vivacité.

Le 7 de Septembre nous avons marché a *Elk Town* qui peut etre consideré comme la source de la baye de Chesapeack; *Elk Town* est plus connu sous le nom de *Head of Elk* parceque c'est la que la riviere D'Elk commence a devenir naviguable.

Nous esperions trouver ici, asséz de moyens pour embarquer toute notre armée mais il n'y a de batimens que pour 1200 hommes et Mr de Rochambeau les employe a embarquer les Grenadiers et Chasseurs et infanterie de la legion de Lauzun, le corps de l armée marchera par terre jusqu'a Baltimore, ou j'espere que nous nous embarquerons aussi, si l'on n'en trouvoit pas les moyens il faudroit marcher jusques a la riviere D'York, marche longue et penible, mais nous scaurons la soutenir. Nous sejournerons demain neuf de Septembre ici, et nous nous remettrons en marche aprés demain.

le 9 de Septembre nous nous sommes remis en marche; la collonne des equipages a été separée de la colonne des troupes a cause du peu du moyens que presente le ferri de la riviere la *Souskehana* pour les passer en bateaux, ils sont obligés de faire un détour et de chercher un gué a sept milles au dessus du ferri; le detour qu'ils font, les mauvais chemins qu'ils rencontreront, nous en priveront pendant plusieurs jours et nous faisons trés gayement le troc de nos lits contre la simple peau d'ours. Les troupes ont passé le ferri de la Souskehana adjourd'hui 9, en bateaux, et nous avon été bivouaquer a un mille de *Lower Ferri*, ou nous avons traversé la riviere.

le 10 de Septembre nous avons été bivouaquer a *Burch Hartford.*

le 11 de Septembre nous avons marché a *Wait Marsch* nous y avons été joints par nos chariots de tentes, mais nous n'entendons point encore parler de nos equipages.

le 12 de Septembre nous soïnes arrivés a *Baltimore.* Le B^on^ de Viomesnil, nous a des notre arrivée fait part des moyens d'embarqement qu'on lui avoit fourni et qu'il croyoit suffisans pour embarquer la Brigade de Bourbonnois. Il nous chargea le Marquis de Laval et moi de les verifier et de faire l'estimation exacte du nombre d'hommes que chaque bateau pouvoit contenir, nous nous en sommes occupés avec tout le soin imaginable, mais malgré tout le desir que nous avons de reussir a nous embarquer ici, nous voyons qu'il est impossible d'y songer. Le General a ordonné pour demain un essai d'embarquement et c'est d'aprés cela qu'il sera decidé si nous marcherons par terre ou si nous descendrons la baye de Chesapeack.

le 13 de Septembre, l'essai d'embarquement projetté hier, s'est fait ce matin, le Baron de Viomesnil a jugé impossible d'exposer les troupes a la torture d'une position aussi genée et aussi contrainte que celle dans la quelle elles seroient obligées de se tenir pendant plusieurs jours et aux risques que nous courions dans de petits bateaux indignement equipés de tous points; il s'est determiné a nous faire marcher par terre, tous les arrangemens de subsistance vont etre pris, nous avons deux jours a rester ici et je vais les occuper aux reparations indispensables d'habillement et de chaussure; nous nous remettons en marche le 16 et ce ne sera que vers la fin du mois au plutot que nous arriverons a notre destination; la fatigue d'une route aussi considerable n'est point une consideration qui m'afflige, mais il est a craindre qu'a notre arrivée les operations contre Lord Cornwallis ne soient commencées peut etre méme finies. le B^on^ de Viomesnil m'a cependant certifié qu'il avoit l'assurance positive de M^r^ le C^te^ de Rochambeau de ne rien entreprendre avant l'arrivée du corps de notre armée. Puisse t'il tenir parole.

L'orsque nous avons appris la nouvelle de l'arrivée du C^te^ de Grasse, nous scavions deja celle de L'Amiral Hood a Sandy Hock, et nous sommes certains qu'il a remis a la voile deux jours aprés son arrivée augmenté de l'escadre de l'Amiral Graves, nous croyons que la flotte Angloise va chercher, ou a donner des secours a Cornwallis, ou croiser pour intercepter l'escadre de M^r^ de Barras que nous scavons partir de Rhode Island pour se joindre a M^r^ de Grasse; nous ne pouvons pas etre sans inquiétudes sur le sort de M^r^ de Barras.

le 13 nos equipages nous ont joint. Un homme arrivé de la Virginie, nous a assuré que M^r^ de Grasse a appareillée de la baye de Chesapeack, et il parle d'un combat entre la flotte Françoise et la flotte Angloise, je n'y ajoute pas foi.

le 15. Nous avons appris que les Grenadiers et Chasseurs embarqués a Head of Elk, ont été forcés par le mauvais tems de relacher a Annapolis

Le 16 de Septembre nous nous sommes remis en marche et avons été camper a *Spurers Tavern*, le Baron de Viomesnil a reçu la, une lettre * de M^r^ de la Villebrune Capitaine du vaisseau le Romulus qui lui annonce son arrivée a Annapolis avec tous les moyens suffisans pour nous embarquer et pour descendre la Baye de Chesapeack; cette nouvelle a changé les projets du General, il a fait assembler les Colonels pour nous communiquer son intention de marcher a Annapolis et de nous y embarquer a bord des batimens destinés a cet objet.

le 17 Septembre nous avons pris la route D'Annapolis et avons été camper a *Scots Plantation.*

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* cette lettre nous donne aussi la certitude de la jonction de M^r^ de Barras avec M^r^ de Grasse.

le 18 de Septembre nous avons marché a Annapolis ou nous avons trouvé les batimens qui nous etoient annonces, on travaille a force a l'embarquement et j'espere que nous pourrons entrer demain au soir dans nos vaisseaux.*

le 19 et le 20 de Septembre ont été employés a embarquer tout l'attirail de notre armée et nous ne sommes entrés dans nos vaisseaux que dans la matinée du 21. Notre petite escadre est composée du *Romulus*, des fregattes la *Gentille*, la *diligente l'aigrette*, l' *Iris* et le *Richmond*, (les deux dernieres viennent d'etre prises sur les Anglois) et de neuf batimens de transport, le tout, formant quinze voiles; j'ai été embarqué sur la diligente ou j'ai trouvé Lord Rawdon, le Colonel Doil et le Lieutenant de vaisseau du Roy D'Angleterre Clark, pris sur le paquebot la *Queen Charlotte*, les deux derniers ont leurs femmes a bord.

A quatre heures aprés midi nous avons mis a la voile par un vent frais qui s'est parfaitement soutenu,

le 22 a quatre heures aprés midi nous avons decouvert

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* Nous avons appris a Annapolis le combat que Mr le Cte de Grasse a livré le 5 de Septembre a l'escadre Angloise commandée par l'Amiral Graves; les Anglois ont paru a hauteur des Caps, Mr de Grasse qui n'etoit point encore joint a Mr de Barras et qui en etoit necessairement inquiet ne balanca pas un môment a appareiller pour combattre l'ennemi, il coupa ses cables et fut en un instant sous voiles, les ennemis des qu'ils appercurent le dessein du General François, mirent toutes voiles dehors pour s'enfuir, et ne purent etre joints que par les vaisseaux François doublés en cuivre, ce combat d'avant garde a arriere garde n'en a pas été moins vif et visiblement des avantageux pour les ennemis, la nuit a separé les combattans, mais Mr de Grasse a continué sa chasse pendant toute la journée du 6, sept il l'a abandonné par la crainte que le vent venant a changer ne donnat le moyen aux Anglois d'entrer dans la baye de Chesapeack, il en reprit la route et y trouva l'escadre de Mr de Barras, qui s'y etoit introduite pendant son absence.

les vaisseaux qui bloquent l'embouchure de la riviere D'York, a six heures nous avons apperçu la grande flotte et a huit heures nous etions mouillé dans la baye de Lynchaven au milieu de l'armée navale.

le 23 de Septembre a cinq heures du matin nous avons remis a la voile et sommes entrés dans la riviere de *James* que nous allons remonter.

le 24 au soir nous sommes parvenus a *Hogs Ferry,* lieu de notre débarquement, la navigation de la riviere de James est trés penible, nous avons continuellement été obligés d'avoir la sonde a la main, et malgré toutes nos precautions, plusieurs batimens ont echoué et n'ont été relevés que par le flot.

le 25 de Septembre nos troupes ont été debarqués et nous avons été camper a une demie mille de *Hogs ferri*

le 26 a quatre hueres du soir nous nous sommes remis en marche et avons été camper a *Williamsburg.* nous avons appris la, que le Lord Cornwallis a envoyé quelques brulots pour detruire les vaisseaux François qui le bloquent, mais ils n'ont eu aucun effet que celui d'effrayer beaucoup une partie des equipages. Lord Cornwallis travaille a force a se retrancher et sous peu de jours, nous marcherons au lieu de l'attaque.

le 28 de Septembre toute l'armée combinée s'est mise en marche de Williams burg, pour aller camper sous la ville D'York; pendant une partié du chemin, l'armée a marchée sur une seule colonne, l'armée Americaine ayant la tete de la marche, a quatre milles de notre destination a une fourche formée par deux chemins qui conduisent tous deux a York, la Colonne Americaine a pris le chemin de la droite et la colonne Françoise composée, 1° des voluntaires aux ordres du B^{on} de S^{t} Simon frere du General 2do des Grena-

diers et chasseurs des sept regiments de notre armée 3° de Brigades D'Agenois, Soisonnois et Bourbonnois, marchant la gauche en tete, a pris celui de la gauche. Nous nous sommes separés brigade par Brigade a un mille de la place et en avons formé l'investiture. a peine la Brigade de Bourbonnois etoit elle arrivee a la place qui lui est destinée, qu' on est venu nous avertir que plusieurs troupes ennemies paroissoient. M^r le C^te de Rochambeau donna ordre au M^ls de Laval de prendre les piquets et l'Artillerie de la Brigade pour leur donner chasse; nous nous mimes en marche et aprés cinq ou six coups de canons, ces petites troupes prirent la fuite.

Le 29 Septembre le G^al Washington avança avec l'armée Americaine pour serrer son investiture; le corps Anglois campé en avant se replia sur York, les Anglois tirerent quelques coups de canon qui n'eurent d'autre effet que de blesser un seul homme.

Dans la nuit du 29 au 30. les Anglois dont les postes avancés touchoient aux notres, abandonnerent ces postes et evacuerent deux redoutes du coté des François une redoute du coté des Americains et tous les postes et petites batteries qu'ils avoient construits pour la defense d'un crique que j'aurois cru etre pour eux de la plus grande importance. Je suivis M^r le C^te de Rochambeau dans la journée qu'il fit pour reconnaitre ces redoutes. Les endroits evacués nous permirent de voir et de juger de tout le terrain qui environne la ville et des ouvrages qui doivent la deffendre; et il me semble que par cette raison, l'ennemi eut du (quoique par elles mémes ces redoutes ne soient pas d'une grande importance) les conserver jusqu'a cequ'il eut été forcé de les abandonner. Il nous eut reduit a tatonner il nous auroit tenu dans l'incertitude, il auroit

peut etre retarde nos ouvrages, au lieu de nous laisser maitres de tous les abords de la place jusqu' a la distance de trois a quatre cent toises. Il est clair que les approches sont on ne peut pas plus aisées, du convert par tout, quelques petits endroits dominans, et les ouvrages peu forts peu considerables par eux mêmes et a ce qu'il me semble, trop etendus, formant une trop grande enceinte pour etre bien deffendus. Nous avons examiné avec soin les redoutes evacuées, elles sont peu solides, des parapets de peu d'epaisseur, un terrain sabloneux qui oblige a les etayer de peur qu'elles ne s'ecoulent, mais des abbatis excellents qui n'ont d'autres défauts que d'etre de bois de sapin et aisés consequemment a mettre en feu. J'ai avancé trois cents pas plus pres de la ville, j'ai vu un ravin quia a peu prés 25 pieds de profondeur qui entoure toute la place et donne au dessus et au dessous de la ville, dans la riviere D'York, ce ravin me paroit, d'une defense excellente et je ne conçois pas comment les ennemis l'ont abandonné. Notre General fit sur le champ occuper les deux redoutes evacuées, l'une par les Grenadiers de Bourbonnois, l'autre par cinquante chasseurs du regiment R^{al} Deuxponts; le reste du Bataillon de G^{drs} et Chasseurs de la Brigade et ses piquets, ont été placés un peu en arriere, derriere un revers qui les met a l'abri de canon. Cette reconnoissance et tous ces mouvements n'ont pu se faire sans etre apperçus de la place et sans nous faire tirer du canon, ils nous en ont ajusté huit ou dix coups, mais personne n'a été ni tué ni blessé.

Dans la même matinée, le V^{te} de Viomesnil voulant reconnaitre les ouvrages ennemis en avant de notre gauche, poussa les volontaires de S^{t} Simon en avant; ils se rendirent maitre du bois qui couvre ces ouvrages en forçant les postes Anglois qui le gardoient a se replier sur une redoute qui fit

un feu asséz vif de boulets et de mitraille, et tua un Houssard, cassa le bras a un autre et la cuisse a un Officier du regiment D'Agenois. Mr le Cte de Rochambeau ordonna au retour de cette reconnoissance que le camp de la Brigade de Bourbonnois fut changé, nous le levames dans le courant de l'aprés midi et l'avons etabli dans un bois, a un demi mille en avant de notre premiere position.

le 1er D'Octobre a la pointe du jour les americains commencerent a travailler a une redoute intermediaire entre les redoutes evacuées du coté des François et celle que l'ennemi avoit abandonné du coté des Americains. Les Anglois ne tarderent pas a s'en appercevoir et ont tiré au moins trois cents coups de canon dans le courant de la journée, qui n'ont tué que deux hommes et n'ont point interrompu le travail.

Dans le même journée j'ai fait ma reconnoissance particuliere de la gauche de l'ennemi et je n'y ai pas trouvé les defenses plus respectables que du coté que j'ai deja vu, le terrain y est un peu plus decouvert et donne plus de facilité a l'assiegé pour diriger des coups sur les travaux de l'assiegeant, mais c'est la le seul avantage que ce coté la, procure a l'ennemi; je me suis porté jusques contre la riviere D'York et j'ai vu tous les batimens des Anglois, la position de Glocester et les vaisseaux François qui bloquent la riviere.

le 2 D'Octobre. Les Americains continuent leur travail aux redoutes, les Anglois tirent du canon, mais toute la perte de la journée n'a été que d'un seul homme tué.

J'ai fait aujourd'hui ma reconnoissance de la droite des ennemis et je juge qu' elle est de toutes les parties de leur ligne de defense, la meilleure.

Le feu que les ennemis ont fait ces deux derniers jours sur la redoutes que les Americains construisent, a conside-

rablement diminué, ils ne tirent plus que de tems en tems un coup de canon.

On a entendu dans la matinée une fusilade asséz vive de l'autre coté de la riviere, a prés laquelle on a vu revenir la cavalerie de Tarleton grand train et en desordre, on juge qu'elle sera sortie des lignes de Glocester pour attaquer la legion de Lauzun, et nous esperons qu'elle aura été repoussée.

Le 4 D'Octobre, la nouvelle de l'engagement de la legion de Lauzun et de celle de Tarleton est vraie, la legion de Lauzun a reponssé celle de Tarleton, le Duc de Lauzun a chargé a plusieurs reprises; il etoit soutenu par M^r de Choisi qui venoit d'arriver avec huit cents hommes des garrisons des vaisseaux.

Nous avons aussi reçu ce matin la nouvelle certaine qu' a la suitte du combat naval du 5 de Septembre; le vaisseau Anglois, le *Terrible* de 74 canons a été si maltraité que les ennemis l'ont fait sauter; en outre le *London* le *Schrewsbury*, le *Robuste* et le *Prudent* sont en mauvais etat.

Dans la nuit du 4 au 5 Octobre nous avons envoyé de nos redoutes plus de patrouilles qu'a l'ordinaire et le V^te de Viomesnil Officier G^al de jour, leur a ordonné expressement de se porter jusques sous les retranchemens des ennemis: L'ordre a été parfaitement eecuté, presque toutes nos patrouilles ont tiré leurs coups de fusil contre les ennemis et il paroit que cela lui a donné de l'inquietude, car il a fait pendant toute la nuit un feu de canon considerable et soutenu. La redoute nouvelle que les Americains ont construit et celle que Anglois avoient evacué qu'ils ont reparé, sont toutes deux entierement achevées.

La nuit du 5 au 6 s'est passée comme la précedente, mêmes patrouilles et même feu de canon.

Le 6 Octobre, tout etant preparé, les fascines, gabions, claies et saucissons faits, l'artillerie de siege* presque entierement arrivée, le lieu de la tranchée bien reconnu ; le General a donné ordre de l'ouvrir ce même soir.

Les regiments de Bourbonnois et de Soisonnois ont reçu ordre de la monter et deux cents cinquante hommes par chacun des quatre regiments, qui ne sont pas de tranchée, (le regiment de Tourraine ayant une mission particuliere) sont commandés pour le travail. Toutes ces troupes ont ete rendues a la queue de la tranchée a cinq heures du soir, et Mr le Baron de Viomesnil Officier Gal de la tranchée a des le môment disposé les régiments dans les places ou ils doivent la couvrir. Les Officiers du genie ont a la nuit close, placé les travailleurs et a huit heures du soir le travail a commencé. Les Americains qui ont la droite du travail et de l'attaque, ont fait pareille disposition ; le travail a été tres bien conduit et dans le plus grand silence. L'ennemi a fort peu tiré. La droite de l'attaque commence a la riviere D'York a 200 Toises de la place et la paralelle s'etend en augmentant de 50 a 60 Toises d'eloignement jusques pres de la redoute nouvellement construite par les Americains.

Le Regiment de Tourraine est detaché de l'armée et a une commission particuliere, il est chargé de la construction et de la defense d'une batterie de huit pieces de canon et de six obusiers et mortiers que l'on construit a la droite des ennemis et qui sert de fausse attaque, les ennemis ont dirigé cette nuit leur feu sur ce travail, un Capitaine d'artillerie a eu la cuisse fracassée, un Grenadier a été tué et six autres ont été blessés.

* Notre artillerie de siege etoit embarqué sur les batimens qui sont venus avec l'escadre de Mr le Cte de Barras, on l'a debarqué a sept milles D'York.

le 7 D'Octobre, le regiment D'Agenois et le regiment de Saint Onge ont relevé la tranchée a Midi, elle est asséz avancée pour pouvoir deja y placer les premiers Bataillons des regiments de tranchée, les seconds Bataillons sont placés dans les ravins en arriere, mais a portée de venir au premier mouvement des ennemis, soutenir leurs premiers Bataillons.

le 8 D'Octobre: les regiments de Gatinois et de Royal Deuxponts ont monté la tranchée, on travaille a force aux batteries qui me paroissent parfaitement disposées et j'espere qu' incessamment nous verrons l'effet.

le 9 Octobre les regiments de Bourbonnois et de Soisonnois ont relevé la tranchée; a quatre heures du soir une batterie americaine de deux mortiers et huit pieces de canon de dix huit et vingt quatre a commencée a tirer, et la batterie du regiment de Tourraine a aussi commencée son feu.

Le 10 Octobre une des batteries du notre front d'attaque composée de quatre pieces de 24 huit pieces de seize quatre mortiers et deux obusiers a été demasquée et on l'a fait jouer; la superiorité du feu de ces differentes batteries sur celles de l'ennemi a fait taire le feu de la place; tous nos feux ont été trés bien dirigés, on peut remarquer plusieurs parapets deja écretés et nous scavons par le rapport de plusieurs deserteurs que les ennemis ont été fort etonnés de l'ouverture de nos batteries; et que nos bombes surtout [les] inquietent beaucoup. A peine tirent ils a present six coups de canon par heure, tandis que jusques la, ils avoient fait un feu asséz soutenu et asséz bien dirigé; nous n'avons pas cependant encore a nous plaindre de la quantité d'hommes tués et blessés. La tranchée a été montée aujourd'hui par les regiments D'Agenois et de Saint Onge.

L'ennemi voulant ce matin faire une tentative sur M^r de

Choisi, a fait remonter la riviere a plusieurs bateaux plats remplis de troupes, mais Mr de Choisi instruit du projet a fait amener du canon et les a forcé a s'eloigner.

Le 11 Octobre les regiments de Gatinois de Royal Deux-ponts ont relevé la tranché et dans la même nuit, nous avons construit notre seconde paralelle a la petite portée du fusil de la place, nous attendre a une sortie vigoureuse; on commanda en consequence quelques Compagnies auxiliaires de Grenadiers et chasseurs, et Monsieur le Chevalier de Chastelux Officier General de tranchée, disposa toutes les troupes de maniere a recevoir l'ennemi de la façon la plus avantageuse. A huit heures du soir, on commença le travail a dix heures nous entendimes une vingtaine de coups de fusil; tout le monde crut que c'etoit le commencement d'une attaque; mais ce n'etoit qu' une patrouille Angloise, il y eut plusieurs petites fusiliades de ce genre pendant la nuit et c'est a quoi se bornerent toutes les tentatives exterieures de l'ennemi; du reste il tira beaucoup de coups de canon, de bombes et d'obusiers, mais le feu de notre artillerie garda cependant sa superiorité et celui de l'ennemi eut trés peu d'effet. A la pointe du jour nos travailleurs etoient assés profondément enterrés pour n'avoir plus de grands risques a courir.

La crainte que le feu de nos batteries peu elevés au dessus des tetes des travailleurs, ne causat des accidens, fit donner ordre a notre Artillerie de le suspendre; l'ennemi profita de ce môment de silence pour faire le feu le plus vif sur nos ouvrages; l'on retracta alors l'ordre et l'on rendit a nos batteries la liberté de tirer. Une demie heure aprés que notre feu fut en train, celui des ennemis diminua, et lorsque nous descendimes la tranchée, il etoit reduit a cequ' il est ordinairement.

le 12 Octobre les regiments de Bourbonnois et de Soisonnois ont relevé la tranchée.

le 13. les Regiments D'Agenois et de Saint Onge ont mouté la tranchée; l'emplacement de toutes le batteries de la seconde paralelle est marqué, et dans deux jours elles pourront jouer. Deux redoutes ennemies interrompent entierement la suitte de notre seconde paralelle, qui doit necessairement etre continuée jusqu'a la riviere D'York, tant que ces deux ouvrages appartiendront a l'ennemi, elle sera imparfaite et nous esperons tous qu'ils seront incessamment attaqués.

Le 14 Octobre les regiments de Gatinois et de R^{al} Deuxponts ont relevé la tranchée; a l'assemblée du regiment de R^{al} Deuxponts pour la monter; le B^{on} de Viomesnil m'ordonna de venir le trouver a notre arrivee a la queue de la tranchée; j'executai ses ordres; il separa les Grenadiers et chasseurs des deux regiments de tranchée et me donna le Commandement du Bataillon qu'il venoit d'en former, en me disant qu'il croyoit me donner par la, une preuve de son estime et de sa confiance, ses paroles n'etoient point un enigme pour moi, je ne pris point le change sur l'objet auquel il me destinoit, un môment aprés il confirma mon opinion en me distant que je ferois dans le courant de la nuit l'attaque d'une des redoutes qui empechoient la continuation de notre seconde paralelle, il me donna l'ordre de placer mon bataillon a couvert, et d'attendre qu'il m'envoyat chercher pour faire avec lui la reconnoissance de la redoute; il m'y mena dans le courant de l'aprés midi, avec M^{r} le Baron de Lestrade, lieutenant Colonel du regiment de Gatinois, qu'il m'avoit donné pour second, et deux sergents des Grenadiers et chasseurs de ce regiment, hommes aussi braves qu'intelligents et qui furent chargés particulierement de reconnaitre avec la

derniere exactitude, le chemin que nous aurions a tenir pendant la nuit. Nous examinames avec le plus grand soin, l'objet de l'attaques et tous ses details, le G^al^ nous expliqua bien clairement ses intentions. M^r^ de l'estrade par son experience et la connoissance parfaite qu'il a, de la conduite a tenir dans de pareilles circonstances, auroit d'ailleurs supplée aux fautes que j'aurois pu commettre, et le General m'ordonna ensuite d'aller former mon bataillon et de le conduire dans le lieu de la tranchée le plus voisin de celui dont nous devions en déboucher j'assemblai les Capitaines de mon bataillon, et leur declarai la comission dont on nous honoroit, je n'avois point a animer leur courage ni celui des troupes que je commandois mais je devois leur faire connaitre la volonté du General et l'ordre exact dans lequel nous devions marcher a l'ennemi.

Nous nous mimes ensuite en marche pour entrer dans la tranchée, nous passames devant beaucoup de troupes, soit de tranchée, de travailleurs ou de Grenadiers et Chasseurs, auxiliaires tout le monde me souhaita du succés, de la gloire, et me temoigna des regrets de ne pouvoir pas m'accompagner, ce môment me parut bien doux, bien propre a elever l'ame et a animer le courage: Mon frere, Mon frere surtout et je ne l'oublierai jamais, me donna des marques d'une tendresse qui me penetra jusqu'au fonds du coeur; j'arrivai a l'endroit que le B^on^ de Viomesnil m'avoit indiqué, j'y attendis la nuit close; et peu de tems aprés qu'elle fut fermée, le G^al^ me fit sortir de la tranchée et m'ordonna de ranger ma colonne dans l'ordre de l'attaque, il m'instruisit du signal de six bombes consecutives tirées d'une de nos batteries, au quel je devois me porter en avant; et j'attendis dans cette position le signal convenu.

Les chasseurs du regiment de Gatinois avoient la téte de

ma colonne, ils etoient en colonne par pelotons, les cinquante premiers portoient des fascines, sur les cinquante autres il y en avoit huit qui portoient des echelles, venoient ensuite les Grenadiers de Gatinois rangés par files puis les Grenadiers et Chasseurs du reg^{t} de R^{al} Deuxponts, en colonne par sections; le tout etoit precedé des deux sergents de Gatinois dont j'ai deja parlé et de huit charpentiers, quatre du regiment de Gatinois et quatre de celui de R^{al} Deuxponts; les chasseurs des regiments de Bourbonnois et D'Agenois, etoient a cent pas derriere mon bataillon et destinés a me sontenir, et le second Bataillon du regiment de Gatinois commandé par M^{r} le C^{te} de Rostaing terminoit ma reserve. J'avois deffendu avant de me mettre en marche que personne ne tirat avant d'etre arrivé sur la crete du parapet de la redoute et qu'etabli sur le parapet personne ne sautat dans le retranchement avant d'en avoir recu l'ordre.

L'attaque des troupes Françoises etoit combinée avec celle que les troupes americaines faisoient a ma droite d'une redoute qui etoit appuyée a la riviere D'York, cette redoute etoit de la même importance par l'obstacle qu'elle apportoit a la continuation de la seconde paralelle: le M^{is} de la Fayette commandoit cette attaque qui devoit se faire a la même heure et commencer au même signal que la notre.

Les six bombes furent enfin tirés et je me mis en marche dans le plus grand silence; a cent vingt ou cent trente pas, nous fumes decouverts et le soldat Hessois que etoit en sentinelle sur le parapet nous cria un *Werda** auquel nous ne repondimes rien et doublames le pas; l'ennemi commença

* Les Officiers Anglois pris dans la redoute, m'ont dit depuis, que le môment ou nous fumes decouverts fut saisi par le Commandant Anglois, nommé *Makferson* et par une trentaine d'hommes pour se sauver honteusement

son feu l'instant d'aprés le *Werda;* nous ne perdimes pas un môment pour arriver aux abattis qui forts, bien conservés et a vingt cinq pas de la redoute, nous couterent du monde nous arreterent pendant quelques minutes, mais furent franchis avec une resolution parfaite, nous nous precipitames ensuite dans le fossé et chacun chercha a se faire jour au travers des fraises et a monter sur le parapet* nous y arrivames d'abord en petit nombre, et je fis commencer a tirer; l'ennemi faisoit un feu trés vif nous chargeoit même a coups de bayonette, mais ne fit reculer personne. Les Charpentiers qui avoient vigoureusement travaillé de leur coté, avoient fait des breches aux pallisades qui facilitoient la montée au gros de nos troupes, le parapet se garnissoit a vue d'oeil, notre feu augmentoit et faisoit un effet terrible sur l'ennemi qui s'etoit placé derriere une espece de retranchement de tonneaux, ou il etoit bien rassemblé et ou tous nos coups portoient. Nous etions parvenus au môment ou je voulois ordonner de sauter dans la redoute et de charger l'ennemi a la bayonette, l'orsqu'il mit bar les armes; et nous y sautames pour lors avec plus de tranquillité et moins de risques; j'entonnai sur le champ le cri de vive le Roy qui fut répeté par tous les Grenadiers et Chasseurs bien portants, par toutes les troupes de la tranchée et au quel l'ennemi repondit par une salve Generale d'Artillerie et de coups de fusil; jamais je ne vis un spectacle plus beau et plus majestueux. Je ne m'y arretai pas pend[t] long tems, j'avois mes soins a donner aux blessés, l'ordre a faire observer parmi les prisonniers

* cela n'etoit pas chose aisée je n'ai pu y parvenir sans etre aidé; j'etois retombé dans le fossé aprés une premiere tentative; M[r] de Sillegue jeune officier des chasseurs de Gatinois qui m'avoit devancé, apperçut mon embarras et me donna son bras pour m'aider a monter, il reçut presque au même instant un coup de fusil dans la cuisse

et Mr le Bon de Viomesnil vint au même instant me donner celui de me préparer a faire une vigoureuse defense il eut été important pour l'ennemi de chercher a reprendre ce poste, un ennemi nerveux n'y eut pas manqué et le Bon de Viomesnil jugeoit le General Anglois d'aprés lui même. Je fis mes dispositions de mon mieux, l'ennemi faisoit pleuvoir des boulets sur nous, je ne doutois pas que l'idée du Bon de Viomesnil ne se verifiat; enfin l'orsque tout fut fini; un sentinelle chargé d'observer les mouvement du dehors, m'appella et me dit qu'il paroissoit des ennemis; j'avancai ma téte sur le parapet et au même instant un boulet qui ricocha dans le parapet et passa trés prés de ma tete, me couvrit le visage de sable et de petit gravier; je souffrois beaucoup, et je fus obligé de quitter la place et de me faire conduire a l'hopital ambulant.

Cinquante six Grenadiers et Chasseurs du regiment de Gatinois, vingt et un Grenadiers et Chasseurs de Ral Deux-ponts six chasseurs d'Agenois et neuf soldats du 2ond Bataillon de Gatinois ont été tués on blessés a cette attaque qui n'a durée que sept minutes. En outre Mr de Berthelot Capitaine en second du regt de Gatinois a été tué, Mr de Sireuil Capitaine des chasseurs de ce regt a en une jambe fracassée*; et Mr de Sillegue sous lieutenant de chasseurs a eu une cuisse percée. Le Cher de La Meth a reçu deux coups de fusil l'un lui casse une rotule et l'autre, lui perce l'autre cuisse; il etoit venu a cette attaque comme volontaire ainsi que le Cte de Damas, j'avois cherché a les en empecher, mais ils n'ecoutent ni l'un ni l'autre des representations qui les eloignent de la gloire. Le Cte de Vauban etoit aussi a mon attaque

* Mr de Sireuil est mort quarante jours aprés, des suittes de sa blessure.

et etoit chargé par Mr le Cte de Rochambeau de s'y trouver pour lui rendre compte de l'evenement.

Avec des troupes aussi bonnes, aussi braves, et aussi disciplinées que celles que j'ai eu l'honneur de conduire a l'ennemi, on peut tout entreprendre, et etre sur de reussir si l'impossibilité n'en est pas prouvée; je leur dois le plus beau jour de ma vie, et le souvenir ne s'en effacera certainment jamais de ma memoire; puissai-je en pareilles circonstances me retrouver encore avec elles; et puissai-je surtout aprés avoir encore été heureux par elles, leur donner des preuves, plus réelles et plus vraies, de mon zéle et de mon ardeur a les servir.

Dans le courant de cette nuit la seconde paralelle a été continuée, elle traverse la redoute prise par les François et aboutit a la redoute prise par les Americains dont l'attaque a eu le même succés que la notre.

La journée du 15 Octobre a été employée a perfectionner la second paralelle. Dans la nuit du 15 au 16, l'ennemi a fait une sortie; la tranchée n' etoit pas gardée avec toutes les precautions desirables, beaucoup de monde dormoit, peu de sentinelles, un piquet qui ne se mefioit de rien, des batteries ou il n'y avoit personne; Enfin l'ennemi est parvenu a enclouer quatre pieces de canon d'une batterie Françoise et deux d'une batterie americaine, on a marché aussitot a l'ennemi mais sa retraite etoit deja faite et on n'a pas pu l'atteindre. Les pieces de canon enclouées, ont été degorgées dans la matinée du 16; presque toutes nos batteries seront etablies et pretes a jouer demain.

Le 17 Octobre on a commencé a tirer a ricochet avec tant de succés qu'une grande partié des fraises des ouvrages de la place, ont été abbatues et dans plusieurs endroits, des breches ont été commencées. a Dix heures du matin Lord

Cornwallis a envoyé un parlementaire au General Washington pour decider du sort des garnisons de York et Glocester et demander une suspension d'armes; on a dés le même moment commencé a travailler a la capitulation, mais on a continué a tirer jusqu'a quatre heures; qu'a la sollicitation d'un nouveau Parlementaire, le feu a cessé de part et d'autre, les negociations s'entament on assure même que les principaux articles en sont deja reglés.

Le 18 Octobre, le travail de la capitulation a continué, il est dit on survenu quelques petites discussions qui en ont retardé la conclusion, mais elle a été definitivement terminée le soir.

le 19 Octobre a neuf heures du matin la capitulation a été signée et a quatre heures aprés midi, l'armée Angloise prisonniers de guerre composée, du 1er Bataillon des gardes du Roy D'Angleterre, du 17^{ieme} 23^{ieme} 33^{ieme} et 43^{ieme} regiments d'Infanterie du 71^{ieme} 76^{ieme} et 80^{ieme} regiments de Montaguards Ecossois, Des regiments Hessois, du Prince hereditaire et de Boos, des regiment D'Anspach et Bareuth, de la Light Infanterie, de la British Legion et des Queens Ranger a defilée devant les armées Françoise et Americaine rangées en Bataille, l'une vis a vis de l'autre; l'armée prisonniere a mis ensuite les armes bas et est rentrée sans armes dans la ville D'York. Les Regiments de Bourbonnois et de Royal Deuxponts, qui montoient la tranchée l'orsque les negociations ont commencées, n'ont été relevées qu'aprés la ceremonie.

Le nombre des ennemis prisonniers tant de troupes de terre que matelots, passe 8000; deux cents quatorze pieces de canon, dont 74 en Bronze sont tombées entre nos mains.

le 21 D'Octobre, les differens regiments prisonniers, sont sortis regiments par regiments de la ville D'York pour etre

conduits a leurs differentes destinations, soit en Virginie Maryland, ou dans la Pensilvanie.

Les Ordres ont été donnés aux Aides Marechaux Generaux des logis de l'armée, pour aller faire les logemens de l'armée Françoise qui doit incessamment prendre ses quartiers D'Hyver et occuper les villes de Williamsburg, Hampton, York et Glocester.

Mr le Cte de Rochambeau a bien voulu m'annoncer qu'il me destinoit a porter en France le Duplicata de la nouvelle de la prise du Lord Cornwallis, et m'a donné l'ordre de me tenir pret a m'embarquer au premier jour.

le 24 Octobre, aprés avoir pris les ordres de Mr le Cte de Rochambeau, et reçu les paquets qu'il me confioit, je me suis embarqué a York pour aller a l'armée navale et prendre les ordres de Mr le Comte de Grasse, j'ai couché a bord de la *Ville de Paris* et le 25, Mrs de Damas, de Laval, de Charlus et moi, nous sommes embarqués a bord de La fregatte L'Andromaque sur la quelle nous devons partir pour la France.

le 26 nous avons été retenus par les vents; le 27 a deux heures aprés midi nous avons appareillé par un bon vent frais. Aprés avoir passé les bancs de* *Middle Ground*, au môment ou nous allions nous trouver a la hauteur du Cap Henri, nous avons vus, en avant de nous la fregatte la *Concorde* faisant des signaux, en repetition de ceux de la fregatte L'Hermione, qui croisoit entre les Caps Charles et Henri, pour avertir l'armée de ce qui se passoit au dehors; l'Hermione signala une escadre et le signal numeraire etoit de

* Mr le Cte de Grasse [qui avoit] mouillé dans les commencemens de sa station dans la Baye de Linchaven, avoit quitté cette position et avoit jetté l'ancre derriere les bancs de Middle Ground

quarante quatre voiles, il n'y avoit pas a douter que ce ne fussent les ennemis, qu'on nous avoit deja annoncés trois jours auparavant, il nous etoit impossible de continuer notre route, et nous virames de bord pour entrer dans la riviere de James.

le 28 Octobre, les ennemis continuent de croiser a notre vue, et nous apprenons qu'ils amenent six mille hommes de troupes de terre au secours du Lord Cornwallis, j'imagine qu'ils seront bientôt instruits de sa reddition et qu'ils renonceront a attaquer avec vingt huit de leurs vaisseaux trente six vaisseaux François. Notre position dans la riviere de James, n'etant pas trés bonne, nous avons appareillé aujourd'hui a midi pour retourner a la grande escadre, dont nous attendrons la sortie pour nous mettre en route.

le 29 L'Escadre Angloise reste toujours a notre vue, et nous attendons avec impatience que Mr le Cte de Grasse fasse le signal d'appareiller; nous avons été aujourd'hui a son bord, il est trés souffrant d'un etouffement considerable; nous y avons appris que les raisons du retard qu'il met dans sa sortie, sont l'embarquement des troupes de la division de Mr de St Simon il attend en outre quatre cent boeufs pour l'approvisionnement de l'armée navale, et ne voulant plus rentrer dans la baye de Chesapeack, il est obligé d'attendre que ses vaisseaux soient entierement prets.

le 30 Octobre, on n'a pas eu connoissance de l'ennemi ce matin.

Le 1er de Novembre l'ennemi n'ayant point paru depuis deux jours; Mr le Cte de Grasse envoya un enseigne de vaisseau a bord de L'Andromaque pour nous souhaiter un bon voyage, et permettre a notre Capitaine, Mr de Ravenel de mettre a la voile. Nous avons appareillé a onze heures, nous avons doublé le Cap Henri a deux heures et avons

ensuite porté le Cap a L'Est, l'Hermione nous a escorté jusqu' a la nuit.

le 2 de Novembre a sept heures et demi[e] du matin nous avons apperçu une voile dans le plus grand eloignement et qui sur le champ nous a donné chasse. Les ordres de M^r^ le C^te^ de Grasse pour eviter tout combat, etoient precis et clairs, aussi avons nous mis toute voile dehors pour nous en aller. Le batiment chasseur marchoit mieux que nous, qui ne marchons pas bien, et si le jour avoit encore duré deux heures, nous etions joints; nous avons fait fausse route pendant la nuit, et le Lendemain nous n'avons rien apperçu.

Depuis le 2 de Novembre jusqu'au 20, jour de notre arrivée en France, nous avons toujours été en bonne route, des vents frais et forcés nous ont fait faire plus de chemin que nous ne pouvions l'esperer de la marche de notre fregatte, la traversée a été dure, nous avons essuyé des coups de vent, mais ils secondoient nos voeux et remplissoient notre objet. Aprés dix neuf jours de navigation, nous avons revu les côtes de France et le 24 de Novembre j'ai joui a Versailles du bonheur inexprimable d'embrasser les étres qui me sont le plus chers.

La vie de l'homme est melée de peines, mais on ne peut plus s'en plaindre quand on a joui des môments delicieux qui en sont le prix, un seul instant les fait oublier, et cet instant bien senti en fait même desirer de nouvelles, pour jouir encore une fois de leur recompense

FIN

Lettre que M. le Baron de Viomesnil Commandant General de l'attaque des deux redoutes, m'a ecrit en m'envoyant le comte qu'il rendoit des ces attaques a M. le Comte de Rochambeau.

Au Camp devant York le 16 Octobre 1781

Vous avéz eu trop de part Monsieur le Comte au succés qui doit accélerer le capitulation de Lord Cornwallis, pour que je ne me fasse pas un devoir de vous addresser ci-joint la copie du compte que j'ai rendu a M. le C^te^ de Rochambeau des evenements de la tranchée du quatorze au quinze. Si je me suis trompé sur quelques uns des objets que vous avéz pu voir avant moi; vous me feréz grand plaisir de me le mander, afin que je puisse redresser mes erreurs; Je desire bien vivement que les grades que j'ai demandé pour vous et M. de L'Estrade, votre Compagnon de gloire, soient accordés; j'y crois le bien du service interessé, les evenements de ce genre sont si rares, le service que vous avéz rendu a été si utile, et la distinction et la vigueur de votre conduite sont si connus de toute l'armée, que je ne pense pas qu'il existe un seul François qui puisse desapprouver que vous soyéz fait Brigadier.

Pour moi Monsieur le Comte, je suis trop heureux d'avoir pu trouver cette occasion de vous prouver mon opinion et ma confiance, je désire que cela puisse vous engager a m'accorder de l'amitié et a continuer de faire quelque cas des sentimens du tendre et fidele attachement avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'etre &c.

VIOMESNIL.

Compte rendu par M. le Baron de Viomesnil a M. le C^te^ de Rochambeau, de l'attaque des Redoutes d'York Town.

a la tranchée du 14 au 15 D'Octobre 1783 [*sic*]

MON GÉNERAL—

Le General Washington ayant approuvé hier au soir dans le tranchée, les dispositions, que j'avois faits et mes instructions données au M^ls^ de la Fayette au General Stubens, ainsi qu'a M.M. des Deuxponts, de L'Estrade et de Rostaing pour l'attaque des deux redoutes de la gauche des ennemis, que vous m'aviéz prescrit d'enlever; je revins a la colonne d'attaque que je m'etois proposé de conduire moi même, et aprés avoir donné au Comte de Custine, les renseignemens et les ordres necessaires sur l'emploi des troupes qui devoient rester dans la tranchée; nous debouchames au signal convenu avec beaucoup d'ordre et de silence. Les deux redoutes furent attaquées et enlevées presqu'en même tems. Le Marquis de la Fayette s'est conduit a l'attaque dont il etoit chargé avec autant d'intrepidité que d'intelligence. Son Infanterie s'y est montrée, comme eussent faits des grenadiers habitués aux choses difficiles; tout ce qui defendoit la redoute attaquée par les Americains a été tué ou fait prisonnier. Un Major et un Officier sont du nombre des derniers. Le C^te^ Guillaume des Deuxponts qui commandoit 400 Grenadiers ou chasseurs que j'avois destiné a l'attaque de la grande redoute y a marché, ainsi que M. de L'estrade Lieutenant Colonel de Gatinois que j'avois mis a ses ordres, et a son avant garde, avec tant d'ordre et d'Intrepedité, qu'ils n'ont pas été six minutes a se rendre maitres de cette redoute et a la couronner. Ils y sont entrés l'un et l'autre avec les premiers Grenadiers aprés s'etre faits des passages la hache a la main aux abbatis dans le fossé et a la fraise de cet

ouvrage. Cent quarente hommes qui le deffendoient et qui ont fait un feu de mousqueterie trés vif, ont été tués ou faits prisonniers. Quelques uns se sont echappés, dans le nombre des quels on croit le Colonel Makferson. Le C^te^ de Rostaing qui marchoit avec deux compagnies de chasseurs auxiliaires et le second bataillon de son regiment, a l'appui de cette attaque, s'est egalement conduit avec beaucoup de valeur et de distinction. 400 hommes du regiment de Gatinois se sont montrés dans cette circonstance, comme si Auvergne y avoit été tout entier. le detail particulier doit vous plaire. Ils y ont malheureusement perdu prés de soixante et dix hommes, dont cinquante Grenadiers ou chasseurs. M^r^ de Berthelot a été tué. M^r^ de Sireuil, Capitaine de chasseurs et Officier d'une grande distinction, a eu la jambe fracassée, et M^r^ de Sillegue Lieutenant de chasseurs blessé trés grievement. Les Grenadiers et chasseurs des Deuxponts ont eus 22 hommes tués ou blessés, les chasseurs D'Agenois six hommes tués; ceux de Bourbonnois qui avoient la téte de la colonne commandée par M^r^ de Rostaing n'ont heureusement rien perdu. En tout cette attaque decisive a couté prés de cent hommes; mais elle doit faire le plus grande honneur au Comte Guillaume des Deuxponts et a M^r^ de l'Estrade, au Comte de Rostaing et aux Officiers et aux troupes qui y ont été employés. Joye et bon ton avant de deboucher, silence, vigueur et difficultés vaincues pendant l'attaque, beaucoup d'ordre et d'humanité aprés le succés. voila Mon General ce que j'ai encore vu de la nation et des Grenadiers des Deuxponts; aprés 20 ans de paix, et ce que je suis bien heureux de nous annoncer.

Je dois encore vous parler de deux sergents du regiment de Gatinois que j'avois particulierement chargé des marcher a dix pas en avant des Grenadiers, pour reconnoitre et indi-

quer les passages ou les points les plus favorables pour franchir les abbatis, les deux hommes qui ont été conservés tous deux ont si bien justifié ce que Mr le Bon de L'Estrade m'avoit dit de leur intelligence et de leur valeur, que je me fais un devoir de les citer avec distinction et que je vous prie de ne pas desapprouver que j'aye l'honneur de vous les presenter demain matin. M.M. de Vauban et de la Meth, chargés par vous et Mr de Béville de se trouver a cette attaque, et le Comte de Damas que la distinction et le pureté de son zéle, y avoient seuls appellés, sont entrés dans la redoute avec les premiers Grenadiers et se sont montrés partout de vrais Paladins. Ils ont une fleur de courage qui sera quelque jour d'un bien bon example pour les guerriers qu'ils seront chargés de conduire, et certainement de la plus grand utilité pour le service du Roy. Le Chevalier de La Meth a été blessé trés grievement aux deux jambes, aprés avoir monté sur le parapet.

M.M. de Viomesnil, de St Amand, de Chabannes de Brentano, Desoteux et de Pange, mes aides de camp, ont merité que je les cite en general et en particulier, pour la distinction de leur conduite a cette attaque et leur exactitude pour l'execution des ordres que je leur ai donné pendant toute la nuit.

Mr le Cher de Menonville aide Major General ayant amené lui même deux cent travailleurs du regiment de Soisonnois qui devoient pousser la second paralelle jusqu'a la redoute enlevée par le Cte Guillaume des Deuxponts, ce travail a été si bien fait sous la direction de Mr le Cher Doiré, si prés des ennemis, et si promptement que j'ai cru devoir faire donner dix sols de plus a chaque travailleurs M.M. de Turpin et de Gouvion ont fait travailler avec le même succés

entre les redoutes prises et a la communication de la 1ere a la seconde paralelle des americains.

L'artillerie avoit fait des merveilles pendant tout le tems qus avoit precedé les deux attaques Mr D'Aboville et les Commandants des batteries se sont encore surpassés pour en preparer le succés.

Je ne scais pas encore la perte des Americains, l'orsque Mr. de la Fayette et Mr le Baron de Stubens m'en auront remis les etats, je m'empresserai de vous les adresser. suivant ce qu'ils viennent de me dire, elle n'est pas considerable.

Le Cte Guillaume a été blessé au visage mais legerement, sa conduite a été si brillante, et son action si distinguée et si decisive, que je vous supplie Mon General de lui obtenir le grade de Brigadier de la bonté du Roy.

Je vous demande de procurer le même grade a Mr le Bm de L'estrade qui sert depuis plus de quarante ans et qui a donné un exemple aux Grenadiers et Chasseurs de son regiment, digne des plus grands eloges. Mr le Comte de Rostaing, Colonel depuis 1770, et s'etant aussi trés distingué, si vous voulé bien demander pour lui le grade de Brigadier, je suis persuadé qu'il ne lui sera pas refusé.

Le General Washington ayant paru satisfait du succés de nos attaques, il ne me restera plus rien a desirer, si vous ajoutez votre approbation a tout ce qui s'est fait, pendant la durée de mon service a la tranchée.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre avec l'attachment le plus respectueux

Mon General

Votre trés humble et trés

obeissant serviteur

Signé VIOMESNIL

Lettre qui m'a été ecrit par le Ministre de la guerre, a mon retour en France.

A Versailles le 5 Decembre 1781.

Sur le Compte Monsieur que j'ai rendu au Roy de la valeur et du courage avec lesquels vous vous etes conduit a la téte des Grenadiers que vous commandiés a l'attaque d'une redoute au siege D'York, Sa Majesté pour vous en marquer toute sa satisfaction, a bien voulue vous donner une place de chevalier dans l'ordre militaire de S^{t} Louis, par distinction particuliere; n'ayant pas le tems de service prescrit pour en etre susceptible. Elle vous accorde de plus, l'assurance d'un des premiers Regiments de dragons qui viendront a vaquer. Je vous prie d'etre persuadé du plaisir que j'ai a vous annoncer ces graces.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre trés parfaitement Monsieur, Votre trés humble et trés obeissant serviteur

Signé SEGUR.

MY CAMPAIGNS IN AMERICA.

MY CAMPAIGNS IN AMERICA.

CAMPAIGN OF THE YEAR 1780.

It was in the beginning of the year 1780 that the King determined to send troops to the aid of the United States of North America. The design was not made public; on the contrary, every possible precaution was taken to conceal the destination of the troops, who were about to receive the order of embarkation; and the regiments of Neustrie, Bourbonnois, Soisonnois, Saint Onge, Anhalt, Royal Deuxponts, a battalion of artillery, and the legion of Lauzun, intended for this expedition, left their winter quarters where they had been stationed after the futile campaign of 1779, in perfect ignorance of the country whither they were going.

The Marquis de Lafayette alone knew this state secret.[1] It was he who was charged to make known in America our coming, and his departure, which preceded ours, could give us no clew as to our destination, which we considered to be independent of his, because his rank as Major General in the service of the United States made his return to America a matter of course and even necessary.

At the end of the month of February, orders were issued

[1] "It was mainly the personal efforts and personal influence of Lafayette, idol of the French people as he had made himself, which caused the army of Rochambeau to be sent to America." Everett's *Orations*, i. 477.

from the war department for the departure of the regiments which composed our little army; and I received in the early part of March the order to report myself on the 15th at Landernau,[2] where the regiment of Royal Deuxponts was in winter quarters. It was only two months since I was married, — since I had united my lot and my heart to a woman whom I loved tenderly. I will confess frankly that the first feeling which this order caused me was not one of pleasure, and I will not conceal here the pain, the real pain which the separation from my wife produced. The contest between affection and duty however was not long, the latter carried the day; it experienced only the resistance of a tender heart, and it experienced only enough to give the glory of a victory always certain for a soul that appreciates the claims of honor. My resolution in short could not be doubtful, but as my presence was not very necessary at Landernau before the month of April, the time fixed for the embarkation of the troops, I asked for leave of absence until March 31st. The objections which the Minister [of War] made to my request were overcome by the solicitations of the Countess de Linanges, which were prompted by a friendly interest in me, and she obtained it for me. I took affectionate leave of my poor mother March 27th, and left my wife March 28th; the tenderest adieux become heart-rending and my heart experienced them. I took my departure. Some tears and many reflections upon what I had left behind, upon what was to become of me, and upon the glory that I might perhaps achieve, — these occupied the time of my journey. I reached Landernau on the 31st, where I found orders for our embarkation on the 4th of April, and I there

[2] Landernau is about twelve miles from Brest.

learned the unfortunate necessity that compelled us to leave behind the regiments of Neustrie and Anhalt for the want of means of transportation, and we left Landernau on the 4th of April.

The regiment of Royal Deuxponts arrived at Brest the same day and went on board of the "Eveillé" of 64 guns, the "Venus," the "Comtesse de Noailles," the "Loire" and the "Ecureuil." Then began the embarkation of the regiments that were to serve under the Count de Rochambeau. It was followed on the next day by the legion of Lauzun; on the 6th, by the regiment of Soisonnois; on the 8th, by the regiment of Bourbonnois; on the 10th, by the regiment of St. Onge; and the artillery went on board of their ships on the 11th, and were the last of the troops to embark.

The general officers, aides-de-camp, &c. were all embarked on the 14th of April; on the next day, taking advantage of a fair wind, the Chevalier de Ternay, commander of our squadron, ordered the sailing of the convoy, which was to precede by a day the departure of the ships of war. The convoy got under way and afterwards came to anchor in the roadstead of Berthaume; on the morning of the 16th, the Admiral ordered the fleet to weigh anchor, to set sail; and at the moment of getting under way, the wind shifted and forced us to remain in the roads of Brest. The wind even became so violent that the convoy was obliged to return the next day to the same roads.

Reckoning from the 17th of April, the wind was constantly ahead. This forced us to inactivity, and it was not before the 2d of May, at five o'clock in the morning, that we could set sail. Our fleet at that time was composed of the "Duc de Bourgogne" of 80 guns; the "Neptune," 74 guns; the "Conquerant," 74; the "Eveillé"; the "Jason"; the

"Provence"; and the "Ardent," 64; the frigates "Bellone," "Amazone," and "Surveillante"; the cutters "Guêpe" and "Serpent"; and thirty-six transports,— making in all forty-eight vessels.

On the 5th of May, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the frigate "Bellone" left the squadron to return to France. Our passage thus far had been slow and quite destitute of adventure, and in the three days and a half we had gone only fifty leagues. When the "Bellone" left us, the flag-ship made the signal to put the crews on an allowance of water, from which we inferred that the voyage was to be a long one, and it increased still more the doubts as to our destination. I believe however that the intention of M. de Ternay in making this signal was to deceive the "Bellone" as to the length of our voyage, so that her report would baffle still more the curiosity of politicians.

On the 9th of May, at five o'clock in the morning, we made Cape Ortegal,[3] situated in the province of Galicia, and were in sight of land until nine. The weather suddenly became thick, and the wind arose with so much violence that we were obliged to lie to in the greatest haste. The "Provence" had her fore top-mast and main top-gallant-mast carried away; several other vessels suffered, among them was the "Neptune," which lost her mizzen top-mast. Immediately afterwards they signalized from the "Provence" that she could not be repaired at sea.* The wind continued all day with the same force.

On the 10th, the violence of the gale lasted until five

* Four days afterwards, however, they repaired her in two hours.

[3] Cape Ortegal is in the north-west part of Spain.

o'clock in the afternoon, when a fresh breeze from the north-west allowed us at that hour to get away from the land and to make sail.

From the 10th to the 15th, the wind was continually ahead; and we were all this time beating to the windward, satisfied with holding our own and not losing what we had made.

On the morning of the 15th, the wind became favorable and allowed us on the same day to pass Cape Finistère.[4] The cutter "Serpent" was sent back to France to carry the news of our passing the Cape. The wind kept up steadily from the north-east; and on the 21st we had passed the island of Madeira, leaving it nearly fifty leagues to the eastward.

From the 21st of May to the 3d of June the weather was continually fine, and the wind fair though for the most part too light to make great progress. Our course thus far gave us no clew as to our destination; it was equally towards North America and towards the West Indies.[5] On the 3d, while the squadron was lying to and the sea smooth, the Count de Damas, my brother, and myself went on board of the "Duc de Bourgogne" to visit the Count de Rochambeau, who told us that we were on our way to North America.

On the 8th of June, the Count de Rochambeau sent us in our respective vessels instructions in regard to landing, the nature of our service, and the order of rank to be observed towards the troops of the United States of America.

On the 11th of June, the frigates "Surveillante" and

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[4] Cape Finistère (*Finis Terræ*, Land's End) is in the north-west part of Spain.

[5] "We began to have doubts as to the real destination of the expedition. The naval officers for the most part thought that we were going to St. Domingo, and that an expedition, consisting of land and naval forces, intended to attack Jamaica." *Souvenirs du lieut.-général M. Dumas.* Paris, 1839, i. 30.

"Amazone" took, after a chase of eight hours, a small English vessel coming from Halifax.[6]

On the 18th of June, we passed Bermuda, north and south,[7] leaving it nearly sixty leagues to the north. The frigates "Surveillante" and "Amazone" took, on the same day, an English brig[8] carrying twelve guns, which was coming from the siege of Charleston, which place the English had taken from the United States of America on the 8th of May, after a siege of six weeks.[9] This vessel gave us positive intelligence in regard to it. She had on board five officers of the 46th regiment, who were on their way to Barbadoes

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[6] "An English brig bound from Halifax to St. Kitts got among the squadron, and was taken by the Surveillante frigate." *Souvenirs du lieut.-général M. Dumas*, i. 31.

[7] This expression is rather obscure and I translate it literally. It probably means that they had passed the meridian running north and south through Bermuda; that is, they were directly south of the island, leaving it sixty leagues to the north. In the *Operations of the French Fleet under the Count de Grasse in* 1781–2, Bradford Club, New York, p. 132, translated from the French by John G. Shea, Esq., a similar expression is to be found, though the original text is not given. "A hundred leagues north and south of the Banks of Newfoundland, we fell in with an English cartel going to Boston, which we examined strictly."

[8] "The Surveillante frigate chased and took a brig mounting 12 guns. The captain of this vessel, a major, and some other officers, who were going from the army of General Clinton to that of General Vaughan in the Windward Islands, confirmed the news of the taking of Charleston by General Clinton, on the 15th of May." *Souvenirs du lieut.-général M. Dumas*, i. 32.

[9] This account was premature, as Charleston was not taken by the English until the 12th of May, though on the eighth there had been a cessation of hostilities to consider capitulation, which probably gave rise to the above report. *The Siege of Charleston by the British Fleet and Army.* Albany, 1867, pp. 98–103.

from Charleston. She mistook our squadron for an English one, which is expected off New England; and she never suspected her mistake until we hoisted the French flag, which forced her to haul down hers.

On the 20th of June, six vessels far to the windward of us were signalized; it was then about half-past twelve o'clock, at noon. The ships of the line, "Neptune" and "Eveillé," received at once orders by signals to go in chase, keeping to the windward, and verbal orders* to carry but little sail. We immediately ran up the English flag and went in chase; half an hour afterwards we discovered that they were making for us, and we could see distinctly that they were vessels of war, though the distance was still too great for us to make out their armament; we could judge however of their nationality by the readiness with which they came towards the English flag. They were all making for us, but without order and some distance apart, when one of them separated from the others and made for our convoy, which continued its course with the other five vessels, that were now to the leeward of us. At three o'clock the officer of the deck came to tell us that the vessels which we were chasing were five ships of the line and one frigate. The "Neptune" which was a little in advance, signalized this to our squadron, and our vessel repeated it. We were at dinner; and this news made us leave the table, in order to stow the hammocks and prepare for action. Half an hour afterwards our two ships

* We passed astern of the flag-ship, when this verbal order was given to us through a speaking trumpet. Our captain replied twice that he could not hear it, because he wanted the order to be signalized; on the third repetition the "Eveillé" was so near the "Duc de Bourgogne" that M. de Tilly could not turn the deaf ear on him, and was obliged to obey without the signals.

of the line found themselves within long range of a seventy-four gun ship, and of the hostile frigate, which was about half a league ahead of the rest of their squadron. The frigate ran up the Spanish flag, which was to serve as a signal of recognition, and to which we had no reply to make; the line-of-battle ship and the frigate interpreted our silence and lay to, while we put about* to rejoin our squadron, which upon the signal from the "Neptune" had left the convoy and was coming up against the wind, with all sails set, to our support.

At five o'clock in the afternoon, our seven ships were in line of battle; the English had formed theirs, with the exception of the vessel which was separated from their squadron, and which was chasing our convoy and had consequently fallen to the leeward not only of its squadron but of ours, so that it was sure to be cut off, if M. de Ternay had taken advantage of our superior position. The French squadron, of which the "Neptune" had the lead, gave chase; but the Chevalier de Ternay was continually making the signal to the leading ships to take in sail, and gave time to the enemy's vessel to haul her wind and escape.† The English squadron was to the windward of us and was

* We put about without receiving the signal to do so from the "Duc de Bourgogne." I neither understand, nor approve of, this manœuvre on the part of M. Destouches. If we had fought the seventy-four gun ship which was within range, it is true our two ships would have had to fight four of the enemy's, but half an hour afterwards, these four would have been blown to pieces by our seven.

† The reputation of M. de Ternay will never be free from the reproach which his conduct in this affair deserves, and which ought to have covered him with glory. If he had instructions not to fight, he ought not to have begun the battle; if he was free to fight, he ought to have used his advantages, and that was not difficult.

running in the same direction. At half-past five we ran up the French flag, and the enemy ran up his; and at a quarter to six, our flag-ship signalized to the leading vessel to begin the fight. That very moment the English ship, finding herself sufficiently free on the wind, put about against the wind, and passed before the French squadron, receiving whole broadsides and replying to all which we sent. By this bold and skilful manœuvre she regained her position in line. The fight began, and for twenty minutes was hot and heavy. The Chevalier de Ternay, in order to draw nearer to the enemy, made the signal to our squadron to tack ship in succession. Firing began again at a great distance; the English held the wind, and gradually drew off from us, night coming on a quarter of an hour after the end of our engagement. The English squadron was composed of two line-of-battle ships of 74 guns, two of 64, one of 50, and the frigate might be of 32 guns. Our whole convoy remained together a half league to the leeward, and was protected by the "Amazone" and the "Surveillante." The fight lasted in all, reckoning from the first shot to the last, nearly an hour and a quarter.[10] We lighted our lights

[10] Dumas in his *Souvenirs*, p. 36, gives a detailed account of this action, and says that "our captain, M. de la Clochetterie [of the Jason] had during the engagement loudly blamed the fault committed by M. de Ternay in causing his two foremost vessels to slacken sail, and which had allowed the "Ruby," which was already cut off from its line to disengage itself and rejoin the squadron." Dumas furthermore states, p. 37, that when M. de Ternay learned all the facts, "he was extremely mortified, and his premature death was ascribed to that cause." On the other hand, the Count de Rochambeau by implication justifies the course of the French Admiral in this affair, and says that he thought more of the safety of his fleet than of any personal glory he might acquire by taking one of the enemy's ships. *Mémoires Militaires de Rochambeau*. Paris, 1809, i. 241.

and kept them during the whole night; the English did not have theirs. If this is any proof of victory on our part, I must confess that it is slight.

On the 21st, the "Surveillante" took a large English vessel freighted with wood, coming from Savannah. They told us that on the 8th they saw Admiral Arbuthnot before Charleston, that he had with him only frigates, because ships of the line could not pass Charleston bar. This makes us all believe that the fleet which we engaged yesterday was Arbuthnot's, coming from Halifax and going to join him. We have so much more the reason to believe that this hostile fleet was commanded simply by a captain, as we did not see on any of their vessels a pennant of distinction.* We judge that these five vessels were the "Robust" and the "Russel," of 74 guns, the "Europa" and the "Raissonable," 64, and the "Renown," 50.

From the 21st of June to the 4th of July, our course was often impeded by calms or head winds. A mistake had been made by the whole fleet, in reckoning longitude; we were behind our computations, which made us sound often, without finding bottom.

On the 4th of July, at half-past ten in the morning, a sail was signalized. The Chevalier de Ternay ordered the

* We learned three months afterwards that this squadron was commanded by Captain Cornwallis, coming from Jamaica,[11] where he had left a convoy, and that the five vessels were the "Hector" and the "Sultan," of 74 guns, the "Lion" and the "Ruby," 64, the "Bristol," 30, and the frigate was the "Niger," 32.

[11] The Count de Rochambeau says that this squadron was returning to Jamaica, after having escorted fifty merchantmen as far as Bermuda. *Mémoires*, i. 241.

frigates "Amazone" and "Surveillante" to go in chase; the "Duc de Bourgogne" made the signal that she should act independently of the others, and supported the two frigates in their chase. She proved to be a small vessel, armed, and a fast sailer. She only hauled down her colors after several shots were fired at her. She was nevertheless taken and manned by two o'clock. Knowing that we were near the American coast, we considered her to be an English spy, sent out to watch us. At half-past two, the "Amazone" signalized that she had found bottom at sixty fathoms; an hour after, the "Conquerant" found bottom at fifteen fathoms, and at four o'clock, the "Eveillé," at thirteen fathoms. We could no longer doubt our nearness to land; and the vessel just taken reports us about ten leagues to the east of Cape Henry, one of the capes of Chesapeake Bay. The squadron lay to, and the signal to fill the sails was immediately followed by *prepare to anchor.* At quarter after six the order was to anchor, which was countermanded immediately afterwards. At half-past six the "Surveillante" signalized two sails; the Admiral immediately made the signal to clear for action; we were a little astonished at the suddenness of this order, but a moment afterwards, the "Duc de Bourgogne" signalized nine sails, while another vessel signalized eleven. This seemed to us a little more serious. My comrades and myself began to calculate the chances. We knew that Admiral Graves was to leave England with a large squadron at the same time with us, or soon after; that this squadron without convoy, sailing faster than we did, ought to have arrived at its destination; that it could have joined Arbuthnot; and it was very probable that these two squadrons having joined were cruising, awaiting our arrival. The little vessel we took seemed to us more than ever a spy.

M. de Ternay, by means of fifty lashes, or a severe cudgelling, had extorted the truth from the captain; and the signal to tack ship, all sails set, the intelligence that the Admiral was going to give false courses for the night,* five of which appeared the moment after, and one of our small vessels, sent to reconnoitre, — these made us all think that the vessels[12] we discovered were those of Arbuthnot and Graves, of much superior force and much to be feared. As the sun went down, I saw only five of the vessels signalized. Darkness came on. We began our false courses at ten o'clock, which

* All these signals indicated rather a shameful flight than a skilful manœuvre. Never has one seen fear better depicted at sea. I saw with mortification this sketch of fear of M. de Ternay; he had not even sufficient presence of mind to send out vessels to reconnoitre. The "Surveillante" and the "Eveillé" are good sailers enough to have been able to accomplish this in safety. They could have seen and reported, and our Admiral might have known that it was in his power to capture two ships of the line, of 44 guns, four frigates and a convoy which composed the sails which he had seen, and which had given him so much fear. It was not till four months afterwards that he knew it. It would have been happy for us if we had not lost an opportunity like this, but when one is in fear, he does not see so well.

[12] According to Rochambeau, this proved to be a convoy coming from Charleston to New York, under the escort of some frigates. Admiral de Ternay, intent on taking his fleet in safety to its destination, endeavored to shun every encounter with the enemy, which would tend only to his own reputation. *Mémoires*, 252. "It was then we learned that the eleven sails before which we had changed our course at the entrance of the Chesapeake, were for the most part only frigates and large vessels, which were carrying to New York the English troops from Charleston. Thus fortune had twice offered us easy and most important success. I have said above that the French Admiral, M. de Ternay, regretted the prudence of his conduct, notwithstanding the good motives which had dictated it." *Souvenirs du lieut.-général Dumas*, i. 42.

were very well made. At half-past twelve at night, five cannon balls were fired between the masts of the "Duc de Bourgogne." These made us believe that the enemy had come up with us, and that we could not escape him by morning; and we passed the night in the preparation and expectation of an attack, of which the issue did not seem to be favorable. I nevertheless turned in. It is the part of wisdom to sleep rather than to dream of a naval fight where there is nothing to gain. I awoke at half-past three, and my first care was to ask if the enemy was upon us. The reply was that only two foreign vessels could be seen. I looked and saw two frigates[13] of the enemy in the middle of our convoy, which was setting all sails to get away; so much the better, thought I. Our frigates and the ship of the line which were near M. de Ternay, with eagerness asked him for permission to give chase; but he did not think it prudent to grant it, before it was sufficiently light to see whether there was a superior force. At five o'clock in the morning, he was satisfied, and made the signal to our frigates to give chase, and joined in it himself. It was kept up until one o'clock in the afternoon, without our being able to come up with the hostile frigates, which outsailed us; and in order to make their escape more sure, however, they had sacrificed some of their guns, which they had thrown overboard. The squadron and convoy held on the same course as the chasing vessels; we were all together again at three o'clock and lay to. The Admiral ordered all the ships of the line and frigates to send for orders, and declared that he was

[13] "At daybreak we saw two English frigates; they were ahead, and we could not suppose that they belonged to the squadron which we had avoided." *Souvenirs du lieut.-général M. Dumas*, i. 38.

taking the squadron to Boston or Rhode Island. The Ensign[14] who had been sent for orders told everybody on his return, as a secret, that the Admiral had seen the day before eleven sails, and from information he had, he was sure that they formed an English squadron of seven ships of the line, the "London" of 98 guns, and six ships, of 74.

The great number of our sick and the hardships we had experienced from lying twenty-seven days in the roads of Brest, and from being sixty-six days at sea, made us wish to avoid the meeting of the forces with which we were threatened. The enemy, who left at the same time we did, could already have been rested from his voyage, which must have been shorter than ours, as he had no convoy.

In the night of the 5th–6th of July, we lost the little vessel, taken on the 4th. She had had her bowsprit carried away, which made her lag behind; and she was not of sufficient importance to keep back the whole squadron and convoy.

On the 7th of July, the Chevalier de Ternay ordered on board of his ship all the captains of our ships of the line and frigates of the squadron, and told them, after a short council of war held with them, that he was taking us to Rhode Island. The reports which were circulated on the 5th, about the English squadron, which was supposed to have been discovered on the evening of the 4th, were denied. I approve strongly of this denial, which is bound to have a good effect among the crew; but still I am nevertheless persuaded that the first accounts were true, and we all expect to fight before we reach land.

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[14] "In the French navy the ensign ranks next to the lieutenant." *Operations of the French Fleet*, p. 62.

From the 7th to the 9th of July, the weather was very foggy; nevertheless, with care and signals, the squadron and convoy had been kept together, with the exception of the transport, the "Isle de France," which had been separated from us and which is missing at this time. On the 9th, at six o'clock in the morning, we found bottom at forty fathoms; the uncertainty of our distance from land and the impossibility of seeing it, induced the Chevalier de Ternay to come to anchor at noon. At two o'clock the weather cleared up, and at three we set sail; a short time after we made land, but could not identify it. We approached it until seven o'clock in the evening, when we saw a small American boat, the captain of which the Admiral ordered aboard his ship, and we learned that the land we had seen was No Man's Island, one of the islands of Nantucket Banks. We came to anchor at nine o'clock in the evening, and sailed again the next day at four in the morning.

On the 10th, in the evening, we made land again, and were sure that it was Rhode Island; we passed the night at anchor, and sailed at daybreak on the next day. The fog was very thick, and we ran in towards land, where we should have been lost if the "Ecureuil" had not fired some guns to warn us of our danger. The fog lifted, and we were off Point Judith, where we were becalmed and forced to anchor. The Admiral sent us an American pilot[15] (Colonel Elliot),

[15] "Directions were also given to several pilots to be in readiness to go on board the French fleet as soon as it should arrive on the coast." — Sparks's *Washington*, vii. 105. "Pilots from the island of Martha's Vineyard conducted the squadron to the anchorage of Rhode Island." *Souvenirs du lieut.-général M. Dumas*, i. 39. Probably Colonel Elliot was one of those taken by the Admiral from Martha's Vineyard, and sent by him on board of the "Éveillé."

when we set sail again in the afternoon, and entered the channel of Newport in the evening of the 11th of July.

The Count de Rochambeau went ashore the same day and was engaged in selecting a camping ground, and in all the details relative to his little army, which prevented him from beginning the disembarkation of his troops till the 13th of July. The grenadiers and chasseurs were the first to land, and the same evening occupied the camp which is intended for us. They were followed on the 14th and 15th by the well troops, and the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th were given up to landing the sick. Some of these were carried to hospitals in readiness for them at Newport, while others were taken to a hospital established at Pappasquash,[16] twelve miles from Newport.

The camp of the French army has its right wing resting near Newport, a little in front of the town, and the left touches the sea. The legion of Lauzun is encamped in front of the army, on a peninsula called the Neck.

We have at last reached the end of our voyage, and of our fatigue and tedium which are inseparable from it. That moment is sweet, when one sees land after having been seventy-one days at sea. One never appreciates the price of happiness better than after having bought it by privations and discomforts; but we have too much to do with suffering humanity to enjoy it. Scurvy has made frightful ravages

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[16] Pappasquash is the neck of land in front, or to the west, of the harbor of Bristol, about fifteen miles from Newport, and seven or eight miles north of Portsmouth Grove. I am indebted to Dr. David King, of Newport, for many facts in regard to the places in this vicinity. An interesting article on the derivation of the name *Pappasquash*, by the Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, is found in Church's *History of King Philip's War*. Boston, 1865, p. 156.

with the troops, some of whom have died on the passage. The great number of the sick,[17] as well as the feeble condition of others, make us fear that we shall lose many more.

We did not meet with that reception on landing, which we expected and which we ought to have had.[18] A coldness and a reserve appear to me to be characteristic of the American nation. They appear to have little of that enthusiasm which one supposes would belong to a people fighting for its liberties, and to be little suited to inspire it in others. But these considerations shall not at all change my resolution, and they occupy my thoughts less than my reflections upon our military and political position. We are not numerous; and I foresee with anxiety that we cannot make a campaign of great importance, if our second division does not arrive soon, and put us in a condition to go to work.[19]

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[17] "A large third of the army and navy was attacked with scurvy, and was sent to hospitals, established in the interior of the country." Rochambeau's *Mémoires*, i. 244.

[18] This statement does not accord with that made by others. General Heath writes to General Washington from Newport, July 12th, 1780, that "the inhabitants appear disposed to treat our allies with much respect. The town is to be illuminated this evening, by a vote of the inhabitants. For myself, I am charmed with the officers." Sparks's *Correspondence of the Revolution*. Boston, 1853, iii. 12.

Furthermore, General Dumas says that "we were welcomed with the acclamations of a small number of patriots that remained in this island [of Rhode Island] lately occupied by the English, who had been forced to abandon it. Scarcely had the arrival of the French squadron been signalized, when the authorities and principal inhabitants of the neighboring towns hastened to welcome us." *Souvenirs*, i. 40.

[19] "The frigate Alliance arrived in Boston from L'Orient, on the 16th of August, and brought the intelligence that the French squadron, and troops which were to constitute the second division of Count de Rochambeau's army, were blockaded in the harbor of Brest by

On the morning of the 21st of July, a brig, intended to take back to France the news of our arrival in North America, sailed from Rhode Island, under escort of the frigates "Surveillante," "Amazone," and "Hermione," which were going to convoy it a certain distance. The sight of some sails made this flotilla return. The sails we discovered approached; and at six o'clock in the evening we counted twenty of them from land, of which at least nine had two decks. Their silence to all of our signals made from land, left no doubt that they were English. The uncertainty of their designs, and the fear that they were going to force a passage through the channel of Rhode Island, made us bring the broadsides of seven ships of the line to bear upon them; and the Count de Rochambeau the same evening threw up some batteries, which commanded the channel on the side of Rhode Island,* while the navy erected some on the side of

* The works thrown up on the side of Rhode Island were mounted only with twelve pounders. Our large guns and mortars had not yet been landed, and one can easily see that such batteries could not have been of much service against ships of the line. At this time, one half of our army was sick. No landing place had been sought out, and no road open. Our position would not have been easy if we had had to do with a bold and skilful enemy.

an English fleet of thirty-two sail." Sparks's *Washington*, vii. 176.

"The second division of the French troops destined for America, which had been blockaded in the harbor of Brest, was expected daily on the coast. Count de Rochambeau had visited New London, Norwich, Lebanon, and Windham, and other towns, and ascertained that the troops might be well provided for in those places. As this division never arrived, there was no occasion for further preparation." Sparks's *Washington*, vii. 319.

Connonicut.[20] M. de la Valette, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Saint Onge, had been detached with one hundred and fifty men to Connonicut; and the Count de Custine[21] and myself, second in command, had been detached with the battalions of grenadiers and chasseurs of our two brigades; and we have taken our position on the sea-shore to prevent any attempt at landing from the one side or the other. Admiral Arbuthnot remained continually in sight of land until the 26th of July. That night, he anchored off Point Judith, and passed the day under sail, cruising sometimes at one league, at other times three or four leagues, from the coast. In the evening of the 26th, the General ordered us to return to the camp of the army, and the legion of Lauzun took our position. The Count de Rochambeau, having been informed on the 24th, that General Clinton was embarking ten thousand men who were coming to attack us, and that he was about ready to sail, detached the second battalion of the regiment of Soisonnois, commanded by the Viscount de Noailles, and placed it on Connonicut, where he was reinforced by the American militia; but the difficulty of holding the island of Connonicut, which is accessible on all sides, induced the Count de Rochambeau to abandon it to the enemy, and on the 27th of July he ordered back the battalion.

The reports of the intention of General Clinton to attack

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[20] Connonicut is an island west of Rhode Island. There is an old fort on it, at a place called the Dumplings, opposite Fort Adams.

[21] "Adam Philip, Count de Custine, born at Metz, in 1740. He served under Frederick the Great in the Seven Years' War. In 1792, he was summoned from the command of the army of the Rhine, to Paris, and beheaded in August, 1793." *Operations of the French Fleet*, p. 75.

us were confirmed by those which General Washington sent to the Count de Rochambeau, who, in consequence, called together the Rhode Island militia, and repaired all the works thrown up by the English, when they held the island. He has increased the defence by adding new works to those already built, and has opened roads to all the landing places.

On the 12th of August, we learned that the movements with which General Washington threatened New York have caused Clinton to give up his operations against us. General Washington went to Pompton, sixteen miles from Staten Island. General Clinton had embarked his troops in Huntington Bay; he had even set sail and gone as far as New London, and it was not until then that he changed his plans.

On the 19th of August, twenty vessels could be seen between Block Island and Point Judith, which are supposed to be an expedition of two thousand English troops to the main-land to forage for New York.

On the 27th of August, we learned that there were twenty-six English vessels off Martha's Vineyard, and without doubt they are the same that we saw on the 19th.

From the 27th of August to the 18th of September, no events nor news of any interest relieved our inactivity. On the 18th we had news of the arrival of Admiral Rodney with ten ships off Sandy Hook. We were told of his plans against us, conjointly with General Clinton, who they say has embarked nine thousand five hundred men to make a descent, while Admiral Rodney with twenty-one ships of the line will force the channel and engage our seven ships.

The Count de Rochambeau is absent. An interview with General Washington made him leave Newport on the 17th

for Hartford, the place where the two Generals are to meet; and the Baron de Viomesnil is in command of the army.

He knows the danger we are running and all the consequences, but he knows as well the means of resistance we have, and the resources which we can draw from our position and courage. He has moreover the talent for persuading men and drawing them to his opinion, and I confess with pleasure that I give him all the rights to mine. On the 19th of this month, he had decided upon the line of battle on which our squadron should fight. He rests his right on Rose Island,[22] where he has thrown up a battery of forty pieces of artillery, thirty-six twenty-four and twelve pounders; and the left of our seven ships, with broadsides on, is protected by the battery built at Brenton's Point,[23] and composed of eight twenty-four pounders and four twelve-inch mortars. Four other eight-inch mortars and four twenty-four pounders are intended to open on the enemy when he is fairly in the channel.

Such is the position in which our vessels await the attack of the enemy. It is possible that they will be defeated; numbers can overpower them; but it is on the most perilous occasions that great courage shows itself. Glory is in proportion to the danger which is run; and when there is nothing to be gained over an enemy, when there is nevertheless the resource of a noble defence, there should be no hesitation to decide to make it,— to sacrifice one's self even, if it is necessary. One can gain glory by defeat; the tears that

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[22] Rose Island is in the outer bay, between Newport and Connonicut.

[23] Brenton's Point is the south-west point of Rhode Island, in Newport.

the enemy will shed over his victory will be homage rendered to us, and which posterity will count perhaps for laurels.

From the 18th to the 30th of September, we have continually been employed in perfecting our defences; thus far we have been living in the hope of seeing the arrival of the fleet of the Count de Guichen, which, as we all think, ought to be pursuing Admiral Rodney. We have been disabused of this idea by the arrival of the frigate "Gentille," coming from Cape François. She has informed us of the departure of M. de Guichen from the West Indies, escorting a large convoy which they think he will take to France. The "Gentille" arrived on the 30th* and had on board M. de Choisy and nine French officers, among whom was Captain de Thuillières, of the regiment of Royal Deuxponts.

Rodney having undertaken nothing during the first fortnight since his arrival, it was almost certain that he would undertake nothing more. He has lost every advantage by delays; and about the 4th or 5th of October, we were convinced that we should not be attacked, and that the object of Admiral Rodney was rather to repair his ships, which had been considerably damaged by the fights that he had had to maintain against M. de Guichen, than to attack us. We then despaired of giving up our inactivity, and began to be busy about

* On the same day we learned the news of the infamous treason of General Arnold, and we learn at the same time that Major André, confidential aide-de-camp to General Clinton, was arrested in disguise by some soldiers[24] of the American militia, and that he had been entrusted by Clinton to treat with Arnold.

[24] The captors of André were John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart, each of whom afterwards received a handsome pension and a silver medal from Congress. It will be remembered that large sums of money were offered to them by André for his release, but they remained true to their country.

our winter quarters. Men worked in numbers on repairing and fitting up houses intended to be used as barracks; and the Count de Rochambeau has fixed upon the end of the month for breaking up the camp and going into Newport.

On the 28th of October, the frigates "Amazone," "Surveillante" and "Hermione" sailed; the first goes to France, and takes on board Viscount Rochambeau;[25] and the other two are going to cruise I know not where.

On the 31st of October, the brigade of Bourbonnois left its camp and took up its winter quarters in the town of Newport; it was followed on the 1st of November by the brigade of Soisonnois.

On the 10th of November, two squadrons of hussars of the legion of Lauzun left Newport to take up their quarters at Lebanon in the State of Connecticut.[26]

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[25] This was a son of the Count de Rochambeau, at this time a Colonel in the French army, who was sent to France with despatches containing the result of the conference at Hartford (alluded to p. 95), and particularly a memoir setting forth the wants of the Americans in men, ships, and money. In case the vessel should be in danger of capture, Colonel Rochambeau was instructed to sink his papers, and make a verbal communication of their contents to the ministers. M. de Le Peyrouse commanded the "Amazone," and in order to escape the British fleet then blockading the harbor of Newport, he put to sea in a violent gale of wind. He was chased by English cruisers, and his vessel dismasted, but luckily not until he was out of the reach of the enemy. The other two frigates, that passed with the "Amazone" through the British squadron, were bound to Boston. Rochambeau's *Mémoires*, p. 256. Colonel Rochambeau returned from France in the frigate "Concorde," which arrived at Boston on the 6th of May, of the succeeding year. See p. 108.

[26] The Duke de Lauzun's legion was cantoned at Lebanon, not far from the residence of Governor Trumbull, where a supply of forage could be easily obtained. Sparks's *Washington*, vii. 319. Barber, in his *Connecticut Historical Collections*, says that the encampment was a little west of the church. The Count de Rochambeau speaks of this

On the 15th of December, the Chevalier de Ternay,[27] commander of the squadron, died, and his loss occasioned no regrets. M. Destouches, the senior captain of the squadron, took command, and has the confidence of all in his favor.

The squadron has orders to hold itself in readiness to sail. Four ships of the line apparently are going to sail at once, to go before the frigates "Surveillante" and "Hermione," now at Boston, whither they went after their cruise, and which are going to return soon to Rhode Island.

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town as *la Banora*, where the State of Connecticut had put up some barracks for its militia. *Mémoires*, i. 259.

[27] He was buried in Trinity church-yard at Newport, with distinguished honors.

On the 20th of January, the ships of the line "Eveillé" and "Ardent," and the frigate "Gentille" sailed to insure the safe return of the frigates "Surveillante" and "Hermione"; they experienced very bad weather and came back the next day, on the 21st.

On the night of the 22d–23d, there was quite a gale, and an English man-of-war was driven ashore at Montauk Point. Another ship was dismasted. On the 26th, our two frigates came in with the transport "Isle de France." These vessels have suffered somewhat from the bad weather.

The English man-of-war lost in the last gale was the "Culloden," of 74 guns, and the ship of the line dismasted was the "Bedford," of the same force. The enemy stationed at Gardner's Bay, and knowing that we expected two frigates, sent out three ships of the line to intercept their return, and it was this cruise which was so disastrous.

On the 8th of February, at seven o'clock in the evening, the ship of the line "Eveillé," the frigates "Surveillante" and "Gentille," and the cutter "Guêpe" set sail. No one knows their destination, but every one thinks that they are going to the James River in Chesapeake Bay, to destroy the transports of Arnold, who has landed fifteen hundred men, and to fight a ship of the line of 50 guns and two frigates which form his escort, and which are in position to support him.

On the 25th of February, at three o'clock in the afternoon, four sails were signalized, and at six o'clock in the

evening, the "Eveillé," the "Surveillante," and the "Gentille" came in, bringing with them the "Romulus," an English ship of 44 guns, and pierced for 54, which the "Eveillé" took off Cape Henry.[28] The object that the "Eveillé" had was the destruction of Arnold's ships, but she drew too much water, and could not get up the James River far enough to enter the Elizabeth River, which runs into the James, and where the whole English fleet is anchored. The "Eveillé" was obliged to give up the attack on the "Charon"[29], of 50 guns, and on the two frigates that are there, and which had to lighten themselves to get in.

The "Surveillante," which was a little too far in advance, was aground for twenty-four hours, and was obliged to be lightened of her cannon in order to get afloat. The expedition of the "Eveillé" to Chesapeake Bay was limited to taking three privateers and six brigs or snows. The small vessels were burnt and the privateers taken to Yorktown. From the impossibility of beginning other enterprises, M. de Tilly[30] determined to return, and, while heading for

[28] "In 1781, the Chevalier Destouches sent a part of his fleet from Boston to the Chesapeake, under M. de Tilly, who captured the Romulus, 44 guns, and several transports, but most of the enemy's vessels ran up to Portsmouth." *Operations of the French Fleet*, p. 17.

[29] This vessel was afterwards burned at the siege of Yorktown." "In the evening the Charon frigate of forty-four guns was set on fire by a hot shot fired from the French battery on the left, and entirely consumed." Sparks's *Washington*, viii. 177.

[30] "Chevalier Le Gardeur de Tilly was apparently a Canadian of the Tilly branch of the family of Le Gardeur. The M. de St. Pierre, whom Washington met on the Ohio in 1753, was of the other branch, the Le Gardeur de Repentigny. Le Gardeur de Tilly had, in 1781, pursued Arnold in the *Chesapeake*, taken the Romulus, 44, and several transports. In 1789, he was commandant of the eighth squadron, at Rochefort, and commodore." *Operations of the French Fleet*, p. 112.

Rhode Island, discovered a vessel and gave chase. The vessel, taking the pursuing ships for some of her own nation, did not attempt to escape until the moment when she made reconnoitring signals, to which no reply was made. The "Eveillé" soon came up with her and presented to her a broadside within pistol shot. The "Gentille" came up on the quarter, and in that position it was shouted to her to haul down her flag: she hauled down her flag; and it was shouted to her to haul down her pennant; and she hauled down her pennant. In short, the "Romulus" surrendered to the "Eveillé," without firing a single shot. If one cannot commend her courage, he can at least consider her docility extreme. M. de Tilly manned his prize, and without losing time sailed for Rhode Island. Great rejoicings at Newport, — but we are very anxious about the cutter "Guêpe," which left at the same time with M. de Tilly, but got separated the day after his departure, and of which we have no news. The Chevalier de Maulevrier, who commands this cutter and who joins to many amiable qualities all those of his profession, is the special object of our anxieties.

On the 27th of February, we received the news of the arrival of the frigate "Astrée" at Boston. She sailed from Brest and made a passage of sixty-three days.

On the 6th of March, General Washington arrived at Newport, and was received with all the honors due to a Marshal of France. [31]

On the 8th of March, the whole of our squadron, composed of the "Duc de Bourgogne," the "Neptune," the "Con-

[31] While this statement proves nothing in regard to the fact, it is interesting in connection with the question often raised, whether Washington was a Marshal of France. See *Historical Magazine*, iii. 83, 126, 159, 280; also new series, iii. 171.

querant," the "Eveillé," the "Jason," the "Provence," the "Ardent," the "Romulus," the frigates "Surveillante" and "Hermione," and of the "Fantasque" [32] armed in flute, set sail at six o'clock in the evening. There were on board four companies of grenadiers and chasseurs, a detachment of a hundred and sixty-four men from each of our regiments, and a hundred artillery men, — making in all 1,156 men. There were put on board some pieces of artillery — sixteen-pounders and twelve-pounders, some howitzers, some field pieces — and everything necessary to attack intrenchments. We think it is the intention to attack Arnold, conjointly with 1,500 men of the American army, commanded by the Marquis de Lafayette, and with all the militia of Virginia. The Baron Viomesnil commands the expedition, and the Marquis de Laval, the Viscount de Noailles, and MM. d'Anselme and de Gambs, are the higher officers under his orders.

On the 10th of March, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the English squadron set sail from Gardner's Bay, and we can have no doubt that it is to pursue ours. The circumstances of their departure prove their activity. Arbuthnot knowing our preparations, sent a ship of the line and a frigate to reconnoitre; these appeared on the 9th off the entrance to the harbor of Rhode Island, approached quite near, lay to, and remained there long enough to find out certainly whether or not there were in our roads any vessels of war. Convinced of what they wanted to know, these two vessels tacked ship, set all sails, and steered for Gard-

[32] "La Fantasque serving as an hospital ship." — *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, ix. 159. An armed ship, with her guns in part taken out, is said to be *armed in flute*.

ner's Bay. They arrived within sight of their squadron the next day morning, and as far off as they could be seen, they made the signals agreed upon, at which the enemy immediately set sail. Their squadron is composed * of eleven sails, — eight ships of the line and three frigates.

General Washington left Newport on the 13th of March, and they gave him the same honors on leaving that he had on his arrival.

We feel sure that the English squadron, sailing forty hours after ours, cannot overtake it and prevent its entrance into Chesapeake Bay, and this supposition necessarily carries with it the hope that the expedition planned against Arnold will be successful. We expect that the enemy will want to avenge himself on us and will try to enter, and to burn our transports. Even if this succeeded, the damage to us will be but little consolation for the losses which we have inflicted on him in Virginia. We are increasing the entrenchments of all our batteries, and particularly those of Goat Island,[33] in order to make a determined resistance.

On the 26th of March, they came while we were at dinner to tell us that several vessels of war were signalized, that the Count de Rochambeau, to whom this had been reported, was getting on his horse to go to the signal station, that the artillery had been ordered to the batteries, that the grenadiers and detachments detailed for the defence of Goat

* Our fleet set sail in the firm conviction that the English ship "Bedford," dismasted in the gale of the 22d-23d of January, was not in condition to sail; it is certain however that she is now one of their squadron.

[33] Goat Island is in front of the town of Newport, and divides the inner from the outer harbor.

Island were holding themselves in readiness to be taken there, and that everything in general was preparing to go to the posts assigned in advance by the General. We immediately jumped up from our dinner, and followed the General; we did see in fact the sails making straight for Rhode Island, but it was impossible to make out whether they were friends or foes. We remained nearly an hour in uncertainty when we recognized our own squadron, which entered Newport harbor the same evening, and informed us that, kept back by bad weather, head winds, and perhaps by an imperfect knowledge of the prevailing winds along the coast, they could not reach Cape Charles before the 14th of March (having left Newport on the 8th), that a north-west wind compelled them to cruise for two days, and that on the 16th, in the morning, the wind shifted. I give here the details of the fight of the same day between the two squadrons.

On Friday, the 16th of March, about twelve leagues to the east of Chesapeake Bay, the King's fleet under the orders of M. Destouches was sailing in close order, the Cape bearing north, on port tack, the wind inclined to the south-east, the sea heavy and the weather very foggy. At half-past six in the morning, the frigate "Hermione" signalized a sail to the windward, which she received orders to go and reconnoitre with the "Eveillé." Some time afterwards the flute "Fantasque," having discovered ten other sails far to the southward, signalized the information. The flag-ship at once gave orders to stow hammocks and to take the line of battle on port tack. During the execution of this order the wind gradually shifted to the north, then to the north-north-east, and then steadied to the north-east. This put the French squadron to the windward of the English, at a distance of three leagues. It had been forced to follow the wind as it kept

shifting, and when the fog had lifted a little it reappeared on the starboard quarter, bearing, as well as our ships, east to south-east.

At nine o'clock they made signals to the "Fantasque" to hug the wind and to carry sail, and to the whole squadron to tack ship in succession. The wind began to blow strong and the general sails carried were foresails and topsails. The "Ardent" and "Eveillé" carried away their main-yards, and our ships had scarcely ended the commanded manœuvre when the enemy's squadron took the same tack, keeping as close to the wind as possible, with a good deal of sail. The inequality of the speed in the enemy's ships separated them into two divisions, while the French squadron always in starboard line was close reefing. The English frigates and some of their leading ships were carrying their fore and main top-gallant sails. Towards eleven o'clock they gained sensibly upon the rear ship of the French fleet. M. Destouches then tacked ship, running in battle array on the other tack. The French line was very regularly formed, and the first ships of the enemy at once took in sail and bore up two points. Their Admiral soon rallied them, continuing always on the same tack, in hugging the wind; and the two lines stretched themselves out to the range of the great guns. At half-past twelve, the enemy who were carrying much more sail than the French ships, found themselves able to tack ship in the waters of the French squadron, which did not increase its sail; and at one o'clock the leading ship of the English line was within short range of the rear French ship. The sea was heavy, it blew quite fresh, and some of the leeward batteries were almost under water. M. Destouches decided to wear ship in succession in order to attack to the leeward. This movement was promptly exe-

cuted; the leading ships had orders to come up four points. The English saw that their superiority was useless, if they fought with the wind abeam. Their leading ship bore up consequently for the "Conquerant" on the same tack. It was half-past one o'clock, and the respective ships of the line began then to fire very near. The cannonading became hot in proportion as they came into the waters of their leaders. The "Conquerant," the leading vessel which had fought for half an hour when the last French ship began to fight against the fifth in the English line, had already suffered much in her sails and rigging. She fell to the leeward and was attacked by several large ships, against which she kept up a continuous fire. The "Duc de Bourgogne" and the "Neptune" came up to defend her. This movement necessarily doubled the line for some minutes. The English wished to take advantage of these circumstances to crush the rear French ship. The "London" steered with the wind on the quarter, and two other ships held themselves astern within reach of musketry; happily they let slip the moment of dividing us. The "Duc de Bourgogne" and the "Conquerant" kept up a very severe fire upon them, which only left them time to fall off in sending two broadsides with scarcely any effect; in regard to the "London," as soon as she could come abreast, she received scarcely some broadsides and rallied to the windward of her squadron, having lost her main-top yard. The last firing stopped about three o'clock. It was then distinctly seen that two of the enemy's ships of the line had been very roughly handled. M. Destouches made a signal to re-establish the line, but the "Conquerant" replied that she could not begin a fight again; then the Admiral indicated the course to the south-east under little sail. The enemy lay to in order to make repairs; at five o'clock

he was seen bearing off to the west. The next day the vessels of the French squadron took different directions and passed the afternoon in lying to. The "Conquerant" made repairs; the other ships had suffered but little. On Sunday the 18th we chased a large vessel, which was taken and manned by the "Hermione." The fight was a sharp one, well-conducted, and reflected credit on the French navy, but the object failed, and glory is only a chimera when it does not offer practical results. The "Conquerant," the "Ardent," and the "Jason" are the three ships of the line that fought the hardest, and MM. de la Grandière,[34] de Marigny, and de la Clocheterie,[35] the three captains[36] who were able to show the most their bravery and skill. The English squadron was composed of eight ships of the line — one of 98 guns, three of 74, three of 64, and one of 50. The French squadron was composed of a ship of the line of 80 guns, two of 74, four of 64, and one of 44. The

[34] "Charles Marie, Count de la Grandière, was born at Brest in 1729. After 43 years' service, 28 at sea, he was made Commodore, August 20, 1784. He had then been present in eleven naval engagements. He became rear-admiral in 1792, and died at Rennes in 1812." *Operations of the French Fleet*, p. 113.

[35] "Chadeau de la Clocheterie, killed in this last action [April 12th, 1782] of the war, was a highly distinguished officer, and opened the war in the Belle Poule by his brilliant action with the *Arethusa*, Marshall, in the face of an English fleet. He commanded the Jason, 64, in the fleet of De Ternay, which brought out Rochambeau; and in the skirmish with Commodore Cornwallis would have taken the Ruby, but for De Ternay's excessive prudence." *Operations of the French Fleet*, p. 113.

[36] "The 'Conquerant,' commanded by M. de la Grandière, the 'Jason,' and the 'Ardent,' by MM. de Marigny and la Clocheterie were the vessels that distinguished themselves." Rochambeau's *Mémoires*, i. 265.

enemy was superior, but can boast of no advantage; but the parties gave as good as they took.

On the 13th of April, we learned that the cutter "Guêpe," from which we had not heard since she parted with the "Eveillé," was lost off Cape Charles, but that the Chevalier de Maulevrier [her commander] and all her crew were saved.

On the 18th of April, all the transports, chartered at the expense of the King, which had carried our troops, set sail for St. Domingo, under the escort of the frigates "Surveillante" and "Hermione." The latter is to leave the convoy off the mouth of the Delaware to go to Philadelphia, but the "Surveillante" will accompany it to its destination.

On the 6th of May, the frigate "Concorde" arrived from France at Boston, after a passage of forty odd days. She had on board the Count de Barras,[37] commander of the squadron, who is to take the place of the Chevalier de Ternay, and the Viscount de Rochambeau.

On the 18th of May, seven hundred and fifty men, drawn by detachments from the regiments, from the artillery, and from the legion of Lauzun, were embarked on our eight vessels of war. It is thought that the squadron has asked for these troops, for the cruise which it is going to make, to protect the arrival of the convoy which we expect from France.

On the same day, an English fleet was signalized, which anchored between Block Island and Point Judith. There were nine vessels, all ships of the line.

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[37] "Louis, Count de Barras St. Laurent, born in Provence, had served long in the French navy, but his chief services were those in America. He was a particular friend of the Count d'Estaing, and commanded his vanguard when he forced the entrance of Newport.' *Operations of the French Fleet*, p. 67.

On the 22d of May, a small convoy of six vessels, which we were expecting from Boston, appeared and was signalized off Bedford. M. de Barras, as soon as he heard the news, determined to get under way and save this small convoy, which it would have been shameful to allow to be taken within sight. He made the signal to the squadron to hold itself in readiness to sail; but the wind being directly ahead for the English, while it favored us, it became useless to carry out the project of M. de Barras, who, it seems to me, will endeavor in all cases, to uphold vigorously the honor of the French navy.

The English, stationed since the 18th of May between Block Island and Point Judith, left their position on the 23d of May, and it is not known where they are going.

On the 5th of June, our troops who embarked on board of the squadron [on the 18th ult.] were debarked.

The whole month of May and the beginning of June had been occupied in preparations for the departure of the French troops from the island of Rhode Island, for carrying all the magazines to Providence and Hartford, in the disposition of the marches and camps, in buying horses for the artillery and oxen for the wagons, and in the disposition for commissary stores and forage.

On the 18th of May, the Count de Rochambeau and the Chevalier de Chastellux set out from Newport to go to Wethersfield, near Hartford, to see General Washington, with whom they had a rendezvous.

Our generals came back on the 26th, and from the moment of their return, all the preparations were redoubled in activity; the Count de Rochambeau and M. de Barras held several conferences together. It seemed decided that

our squadron should leave Newport harbor at the same time that we abandoned the ports there, that it should go to Boston, where it would be in greater safety from any attack than at Rhode Island, where it would be exposed as soon as it should no longer be supported by land forces in considerable number. This resolution, with which the generals even seemed to agree, was followed by a moment of indecision. M. de Rochambeau was of the opinion that the squadron ought to remain at Rhode Island, while M. de Barras thought that it ought to go to Boston. It was essential, however, to unite opinions, to act in concert, and to follow a fixed purpose. To end this indecision and discussion, there assembled on the 31st of May, on board of the "Duc de Bourgogne," a council of war,[38] made up of M. de Barras and the captains of the ships of the line on the one part, and of our generals, brigadiers, and brigade commanders on the other. The session lasted five hours, and the decisions were kept secret. The Duke de Lauzun was charged with taking them to General Washington, at New Windsor. Two days after, it was remarked that the squadron was no longer making preparations to leave, and it was felt that the intention was to remain at Rhode Island, and to have it pro-

[38] "I proposed to Admiral Barras to hold a council of war, composed of the general and superior officers of the army and navy, a plan which was indicated in our instructions whenever circumstances should require. M. de Barras having accepted the proposition, it was discussed, whether, considering the weakness of the garrison in New York from the different detachments sent to the South, the French squadron could remain in the harbor of Rhode Island after the departure of the French army, with a detachment of five hundred [French] men, under M. de Choisy, and a thousand of American militia, to occupy the forts, which would protect its anchorage." Rochambeau's *Mémoires*, i. 275–6.

tected from the land side by four hundred men, taken by detachments from our four regiments, and to join with them fifteen hundred of the American militia, the whole under the command of M. de Choisy.[39] The Duc de Lauzun returned from New Windsor on the 8th of June, with the answer of General Washington; and two hours after, the same persons who had made up the first council of war assembled again on board of the "Neptune," and came, after a session of four hours, on board of the "Duc de Bourgogne," where M. de Barras had invited us to a grand dinner. On the next day, the 9th of June, the brigade of Bourbonnois[40] received orders to embark with arms and baggage upon small American boats, which took us to Providence.

On the 10th of June, at five o'clock in the morning, the brigade of Bourbonnois embarked upon the little boats that were awaiting them, and only reached Providence at nine o'clock in the evening. It was impossible the same evening to lay out the camp, to pitch the tents, and to get the necessary straw and wood. The Baron de Viomesnil got for that night, from the town authorities, some large empty houses, where he lodged the soldiers; and the next day, the 11th, at six o'clock in the morning, we encamped upon

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[39] "M. de Choisy, brigadier of the forces, an officer distinguished for his great valor, was appointed to protect the anchorage of the squadron with a detachment of only five hundred men and one hundred American militia." *Souvenirs du lieut.-général M. Dumas*, i. 67.

[40] I infer that the brigade of Bourbonnois was made up of the regiments of Bourbonnois, and of Royal Deuxponts, from the fact that these regiments generally kept together; and at the siege of Yorktown, according to contemporaneous maps, they encamped side by side; and, for the same reasons, it may be inferred that the brigade of Soisonnois was made up of the regiments of Soisonnois and of St. Onge.

the height which commands Providence on the west. The brigade of Soisonnois arrived the same day and encamped on our left.

The King's squadron remains definitely at Newport. It is guarded by four hundred men of our troops, and the American militia,[41] who come in very slowly, and whose term of enlistment, so they say, is very short. We shall remain eight days in camp at Providence; and this time is necessary for us to collect horses for the artillery and the ambulances, wagons to carry our baggage, oxen to draw them, and to await four hundred and fifty men for our army, who have just arrived at Boston upon the convoy coming from France.[42]

From Providence they tell us that we ought to go in fourteen days to the Hudson River, of which twelve will be of march and two of rest, where we shall await new orders. The march thither, as it is not near the enemy, for greater convenience will be made regiment by regiment.

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[41] "General Washington seeing the great diminution of our little army, and of the squadron enfeebled by sickness, authorized me to make a requisition for the militia of the State of Boston [!] and of Rhode Island, to aid me in the works and the defence of the island." Rochambeau's *Mémoires*, i. 245. It is a curious fact that "the name of Bostonian, which belongs only to the inhabitants of the Province of Massachusetts, one of the four which form New England proper, has nevertheless become the general and common name of the inhabitants of the thirteen Provinces." *Abrégé de la Révolution de l'Amérique Angloise.* Paris, 1778, p. 3.

[42] This convoy brought six hundred and sixty recruits for Rochambeau's army, of whom only four hundred were fit for duty on their arrival. The Abbé Robin, author of a volume quoted in these pages, came as chaplain, with this body. *Operations of the French Fleet*, p. 34.

On the 16th of June, the Baron de Viomesnil reviewed us on beginning our campaign; on the same day our recruits arrived from Boston.

On the 18th of June the regiment of Bourbonnois, on the 19th the regiment of Royal Deuxponts, on the 20th the regiment of Soisonnois, and on the 21st the regiment of Saint Onge, left successively the camp at Providence, keeping always between each other the distance of a day's march. We encamped the first day at Waterman's Tavern, the second, at Plainfield, the third, at Windham,* the fourth, at Bolton, and the fifth at Hartford. Each regiment will stay there two days, and we shall take up our march in the same order in which we came to Hartford.

Having arrived on the 22d of June, the regiment of Bourbonnois broke up its camp on the 25th, the regiment of Royal Deuxponts on the 26th, the regiment of Soisonnois on the 27th, and the regiment of Saint Onge on the 28th; and they encamped on the first day of the march at Farmington, the second at Baron's Tavern, the third at Break Neck, and the fourth at Newtown. All the different camps which we have had since leaving Newport, have been selected only for the object of making progress, and we were much too far from the enemy to take any other precautions than those which our own discipline required. Thus far the only thing that

* At Windham we encamped in a little valley, surrounded by woods. An hour after our arrival, a fire broke out in the woods on the left of the camp. We employed three hundred men, in trying to put it out, but did not succeed. The fire burnt only the brush and did not attack the large trees. This accident, appalling in every [other] country, caused no excitement among the Americans, whose country is full of forests. Sometimes even they are very glad, because it saves them the trouble of cutting down the trees to clear the land.

has occupied us has been our convenience, and what would spare the troops from fatigue; but after reaching Newtown we should have been guilty of neglect, if we had continued to show the same confidence in the impossibility of attacks on the part of the enemy.

The Count de Rochambeau detached for the first time at Newtown the battalion of grenadiers and chasseurs from the brigade of Bourbonnois. The General had in the first place the plan of joining there our four regiments, and of making us leave then, brigade by brigade, separated by one day's march.

The brigade of Bourbonnois was going to march on the 2d of July, and the brigade of Soisonnois on the 3d. But a courier, whom M. de Rochambeau received from General Washington on the night of the 30th of June—1st of July, hastened our march. They beat the reveille at two o'clock in the morning, and the brigade of Bourbonnois broke camp and left Newtown on the 1st of July. The regiment of Soisonnois remained in its position to await the regiment of Saint Onge, which did not arrive until to-day; and the two regiments will leave together to-morrow, the 2d of July.

The brigade of Bourbonnois encamped the same day at Ridgebury, the next day, the 2d of July, at Bedford, and on the 3d, at North Castle, where we were joined by the brigade of Soisonnois, which doubled one march, and arrived in one day at North Castle from Ridgebury.

The grenadiers and chasseurs continue to be detached. The legion of Lauzun, which joined us yesterday, the 2d of July, at Bedford, left the same evening, re-enforced by Sheldon's American Dragoons, to go after four hundred tories who had shown themselves in this neighborhood, and driven off cattle.

During our march from Newport to the Hudson River, General Washington, whose movements were in concert with ours, left his winter quarters near New Windsor and went to Peekskill on the North River (or Hudson) where, according to the plan agreed upon, the French army and the American were going to unite. On his arrival at Peekskill, General Washington heard the news of a sortie of English troops from the island of New York, who had moved on Westchester. He resolved to attack them and formed in consequence an advance-guard of a thousand or twelve hundred men under General Lincoln.[43] He sent at the same time a courier to the Count de Rochambeau to inform him of his designs, to make arrangements to appoint him another rendezvous for meeting, to make him hasten the march of our army, and to ask for the legion of Lauzun. This was the reason, which made us leave Newtown so suddenly; which made the legion of Lauzun leave the same evening of its arrival at Bedford; which made the brigade of Soisonnois make a double march; and which made us push forward to North Castle, within reach, and ready to march on the first order that should require our presence, which would have become necessary, if the course of the English, that of Gen-

[43] As he [General Washington] had perceived that General Clinton had dispersed his troops in several camps, and sent large detachments into the Jerseys, he endeavored to surprise Fort Washington at the entrance of the island of New York; he gave the execution of the *coup de main* to General Lincoln, who commanded the vanguard, and marched with the remainder of the army to support him. At the same time he asked General Rochambeau to hasten the march of the first brigade and of the corps of Lauzun, in order to second him, if he should be seriously engaged with the main body of the English Army." *Souvenirs du lieut.-général M. Dumas*, i. 68.

eral Washington and ours had brought on a serious and general action.

The advance guard under General Lincoln went down the North River in boats. General Washington followed the banks to support Lincoln; the legion of Lauzun and Sheldon's[44] Dragoons arrived from another direction; and we for our part awaited events at North Castle. In short, General Lincoln attacked on the 3d of July; whether he set about it wrong,* whether he attacked too soon, or whether the enemy was too many for him, he was driven back, losing eighty men, killed or wounded, and fell back upon General Washington, who had taken with his little army a position proper to cover Lincoln's retreat. The legion of Lauzun, which had only heard the musketry without taking part in the fight, retired, and thus the day ended little memorable and little glorious.

On the 5th of July, General Washington, whose army had already encamped on the spot that we shall occupy to-morrow, came to see us at North Castle.

On the 6th of July, we left the camp at North Castle, and came, after a very long and fatiguing march and excessive heat, to occupy the camp at Phillipsburg, where our union

* We never could find out the truth of this attack, nor the reasons of its failure. The Duke de Lauzun who was there told me himself that he knew nothing about it.

[44] This was Colonel Elisha Sheldon, who commanded a regiment of cavalry. He had some connection with the correspondence between Arnold and André, though was in no way privy to the treason that prompted it.

with the American army* was accomplished.[45] The right of the two armies rests on a valley, and is placed on a very high and very steep elevation † which commands the valley; in the centre of the line is low ground through which runs a little brook, and which has banks high and very steep, and separates the French from the Americans: the left rests on a small brook very near Brookriver, on which we have some posts; the front of the camp is protected by woods and we have nothing to fear in our rear.[46] The legion of Lauzun, encamped at White Plains four miles to our left, protects us from that side; every possible approach is guarded by French and American pickets, and our distance from King's Bridge is only ten miles.

On the 8th of July, General Washington had a review of honor of the French army.[47]

On the 14th of July, at six o'clock in the evening, the

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* They told us at Newport that the American army had 10,000 men. It has however only 2,500 or 3,000 men, but this is not a very big lie for the Americans.

† Three miles from the North River.

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[45] "The two armies joined in the camp of Phillipsburg three leagues from Kingsbridge, the most advanced post of the enemy on the Island of New York." *Souvenirs du lieut.-général M. Dumas*, i. 69.

[46] "The effective force of the two armies united was barely 10,000 men. We were encamped on one line only. The right, formed by the Americans, rested on the Hudson. It was covered by batteries to protect it from the fire of the English frigates, which were able to come up the river in this part, called Tappan Sea. The two French brigades formed the left of the line, leaning on a wood, and covering some small eminences." *Souvenirs du lieut.-général M. Dumas*, i. 69–70.

[47] On the preceding day, the Count de Rochambeau had reviewed the American army. Dr. Thacher's *Military Journal*, 2d ed., p. 258.

brigade of Bourbonnois, the battalions of grenadiers and chasseurs of the two brigades, and the legion of Lauzun received orders to march, and the *retreat* was to take the place of the *general* to fix the moment of departure. Our march was to be combined with that of a large part of the American army, but at seven o'clock we received counter orders.

On the 15th of July, at half-past ten o'clock in the evening, we heard several reports of cannon and musketry, and a moment afterwards they beat the *general;** the whole army rushed to arms and was formed in an instant; after having remained in line of battle a half or three quarters of an hour we received orders to return to our tents. At five o'clock in the morning, a mistake like that of yesterday caused some alarm-guns to be fired, but did not make us get under arms.

On the morning of the 16th of July, I learned that the guns heard yesterday had been fired at Tarrytown, (a small place on the banks of the Hudson River, where they had been in the habit of unloading flour, which comes to us from the Jerseys) by two English frigates,[48] which wanted to support the attack made by three English schooners with the intention of seizing and burning five small vessels, laden with

* It was a mark of zeal, very hasty, very badly understood, and very much misplaced, which made them beat the *general*.

[48] "Two of the British frigates, and several smaller vessels, passed up the North River as far as Tarrytown, in defiance of our cannon, which were continually playing on them. Their object appears to be to seize some of our small vessels which are passing down the river with supplies for our army. One small sloop, loaded with bread for the French army, has fallen into their hands." Dr. Thacher's *Military Journal*, 2d ed., pp. 258–9.

flour. The attack was unsuccessful; indeed they succeeded in setting fire to one of these vessels, but it was put out and the cargo saved. We learn that this English flotilla was still in the same position as on the preceding day; the artillery from West Point had not as yet arrived; General Washington asked for two of our twelve-pounders and two howitzers, which left at once. I preceded them and awaited the arrival of our pieces, which were immediately placed in position, and began to fire. Our artillery-men, unaccustomed to fire over water, sent but few shots into the frigates, which fired some guns at us and then warped themselves out of our range.

The frigates remained in the same position on the 17th and the 18th; on the 19th, in going down the North River to return to New York, they were saluted on their passage at Dobbs' Ferry by two cannons, and two howitzers which had been brought there. One of the howitzers hit the frigate and set her on fire, and it caused such a panic that twenty-seven sailors jumped overboard.[49] Some were drowned, three were captured, and the others got on board of the frigate again, upon which the fire had been put out.

On the 21st of July, at half-past six in the evening, we received the same order as on the 14th of the month, for the

[49] "The British frigates that passed up the North River a few days since, took the advantage of wind and tide to return to New York. A severe cannonade commenced from our battery at Dobbs' Ferry, where the river is about three miles wide, they were compelled literally to run the gauntlet. They returned the fire as they passed, but without effect. On board the Savage, ship of war, a box of powder took fire, and such was their consternation, that twenty people jumped into the river, among whom was a prisoner on board, who informs us that he was the only man who got on shore, all the others being drowned." Dr. Thacher's *Military Journal*, 2d ed., p. 259.

same number of troops, as many French as Americans, the same number of columns, the same artillery train, and the same hour of leaving.

We set out in three columns at eight o'clock in the evening, in the direction of the island of New York, by horrible roads, which only allowed us to arrive at half-past four in the morning at the plain near King's Bridge, within sight of the English forts. We drew ourselves up in line of battle; the American army, whose right flank rested on the river which separates York Island from the main-land, had the right in line of battle, the brigade of Bourbonnois had the centre, and the two battalions of grenadiers and chasseurs the left; several bodies of American troops were placed in front and approached the fort, No. 8, which the English hold on the main-land, and which might have been a mile and a half from us. There were some slight skirmishes between the English dragoons and the American dragoons, but they were of no consequence. The Count de Rochambeau and General Washington went during the morning to reconnoitre the forts. Some musketry and cannon were fired at them. We all went, as we could get permission, to make our private reconnoissances; everywhere we found Hessian troops who fired some musketry at us, and as soon as they could see from the fort little groups within range, they fired cannon. We had neither tents nor baggage with us. The troops bivouacked the night of the 22d–23d, and remained in the same position during the day of the 23d, which the generals employed in making their reconnoissances of all the points of the island of New York.

From the side of Morrisania they were protected by the legion of Lauzun and an American battalion. They approached very near two pieces of artillery and two hundred

men, who opened a sharp fire of artillery and musketry. No one however was killed or wounded, only the Count de Damas had his horse shot under him.

On the 23d, at five o'clock in the evening, all the reconnoissances being ended, the General gave us the order for leaving; our return march was made in the inverse order of that which we followed on the advance. The enemy did not attempt to trouble us, and at eleven o'clock in the evening we entered our camp again at Phillipsburg.

From the 23d of July to the 14th of August, we have remained quiet at our camp in Phillipsburg. There were no other military operations but some foraging at Mamaroneck[50] and at New Rochelle on the Sound. They were near enough to the enemy for him to have taken advantage of it and to have troubled us. We took, as to the force and arrangements of the chain which was to insure the foraging, every precaution which the proximity of the English seems to demand, but our adversary is little enterprising and little vigilant, and no force has appeared.

On the 14th of August, we received the important news of the near arrival of the Count de Grasse in the waters of North America. He set sail from Cape François on the 4th of August, and brings with him twenty-eight ships of the line. They tell us also that there are three thousand troops to be debarked, and that all the marines will assist our operations on land.

On the 19th of August, the French army left the camp at Phillipsburg. We do not know the object of our march, and

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[50] General Heath, in his *Memoirs*, p. 114, speaks of this place as "Maroneck," which is very much like Moreneck, the word used in the French text.

are in perfect ignorance whether we are going against New York, or whether we are going to Virginia to attack Lord Cornwallis, who now occupies Portsmouth with a considerable force.[51] A rear-guard is essential under the present circumstances. The Count de Rochambeau formed it of the two battalions of grenadiers and chasseurs of the army and of the legion of Lauzun. The Viscount Viomesnil is commander-in-chief of it; I command the battalion of the grenadiers and chasseurs of the brigade of Bourbonnois, and the Chevalier de la Valette, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Saint Onge, commands that of the brigade of Soisonnois. We occupied the avenues to New York during the removal of the army and the artillery. The troops began to march at noon, and it was not till half-past two that we could draw in our pickets and begin our march. At a mile from the camp the battalions of grenadiers and chasseurs were united; and at a little distance further on, we began to find broken wagons, which we could not leave behind, and which so retarded our march that at eight o'clock in the evening we had made only four miles. A severe rain, which had spoiled and broken up all the roads and wet us all through, caused the Viscount Viomesnil to order a halt at the house of Alexander Lark, where we made great fires and dried ourselves as well as we could, and then bivouacked.

On the 20th of August, at one o'clock in the afternoon, we

[51] "Our destination has been for some time matter of perplexing doubt and uncertainty; bets have run high on one side, that we were to occupy the ground, marked out on the Jersey shore, to aid in the siege of New York, and on the other, that we are stealing a march on the enemy, and are actually destined to Virginia, in pursuit of the army under Lord Cornwallis." Dr. Thacher's *Military Journal*, 2d ed., p. 262.

started again, and got as far as Leguid's Tavern at eleven o'clock in the evening, where we passed the night.

The army, whose rear-guard had been separated during these two days, had been on the day of its departure as far as North Castle, where it arrived only on the 20th of August, at five o'clock in the morning, after marching seventeen consecutive hours. It remained there the whole day, the 20th, and we know that we must join it to-morrow.

On the 21st of August, we left Leguid's Tavern, and joined the main army at Pines' Bridge upon the Croton River; thence the battalion of grenadiers and chasseurs of Bourbonnois formed the immediate rear-guard of the army; and the battalion of Soisonnois received the order to remain on the banks of the Croton until all the trains had passed. We marched that day as far as Hounds Tavern, where we found our tents again and encamped. My battalion encamped separately upon the left flank of the army.

On the 22d of August, I formed the immediate advance-guard of the army, as far as the camp at Verplanck's Point on the North River. The grenadiers and chasseurs then received orders to return to their regiments, and we prepare to pass the river with all possible despatch. The heavy artillery and the legion of Lauzun were to pass to-day, and take position on the other side of the Hudson River.

The day of the 23d of August has been employed in embarking and taking across all the trains.*

* An enemy of any boldness or any skill would have seized an opportunity so favorable for him and so embarrassing for us, as that of our crossing the North River. I do not understand the indifference with which General Clinton considers our movements. It is to me an obscure enigma, and I hope that they never will reproach me with giving similar ones to be solved.

On the 24th of August, the brigade of Bourbonnois crossed the Hudson River, and went to encamp at Haverstraw, near Smith's [52] house, in which Arnold formed with the English Major André the infamous plot of betraying his country.

Here now is the order of our march: General Washington, with nearly three thousand men, precedes us by a day; the brigade of Bourbonnois and the legion of Lauzun follow on the next day, and the march of the combined army is ended on the third day by the brigade of Soisonnois. General Washington left General Heath at the camp, at Verplanck's Point, with three thousand men to defend the State of New York and the North River valley. I do not know whether his command will keep its position or go up the river to West Point.

On the 25th of August, we encamped at Suffcrns.

On the 26th of August, we marched to Pompton.* The

* After the troops were established in their camp, I took advantage of being in the neighborhood of Totoha Falls,[53] and went to see them. Although fatigued, I have never regretted the ten miles going and the ten miles coming back, which it was necessary that I should undertake, in order to satisfy my curiosity; and I found the spectacle of this cascade as singular as it was imposing.

[52] This was Joshua Hett Smith, a brother of the Tory Chief Justice Smith, and a man of considerable influence. He was arrested at Fishkill for his connection with Arnold in his infamous treason, and afterwards tried and acquitted. His house is near Haverstraw, and stands upon the brow of an eminence, known, for obvious reasons, as Treason Hill, and commands an extensive view of the Hudson, and the country beyond. Smith died in New York in 1818. Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, ii. 184. — The Marquis de Chastellux speaks of seeing his house in November 1780, and says that "it is punished by solitude, and is in fact, so deserted, that there is not a single person to take care of it, although it is the mansion of a large farm." *Voyages de M. le Marquis de Chastellux.* Paris, 1786, i. 8.

[53] "At Patterson [New Jersey], the Passaic has a fall of seventy-two

army of General Washington is separated from us, and has the appearance of going towards Paulus Hook[54] or towards Staten Island. I cannot make up my mind as to the object of our march. I am inclined to believe that the Americans will attack one of the two points which they are threatening, and I am quite certain that they will not act without us.

On the 27th of August, we encamped at Hanover or Whippany, near Morristown. We are going to remain to-morrow. It was here that I learned, under the strictest secrecy from one of my friends, well informed, that all the manœuvres by which we threaten New York are only a feint, that Lord Cornwallis is the real object of our marches, and that we are going to direct them towards Virginia.

On the 29th of August, we encamped at Bullions' Tavern.

On the 30th of August, at Somerset.

On the 31st of August, at Princeton.

On the 1st of September, we marched to Trenton, where we cross the Delaware. We keep our tents, but to-day the trains ford the river. To-morrow morning the troops go over in boats.

On the 2d, we encamped at Red Lion Tavern.[55]

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feet (or fifty feet perpendicular), affording immense water power, which has been improved by dams and canals. It is much visited by tourists." *New American Cyclopædia*, xiii. 23. A description of these falls, now known as the Passaic, is given in Dr. Thacher's *Military Journal*, 2d ed., p. 198.

[54] Now Jersey City.

[55] Red Lion Tavern was two miles from Bristol, and sixteen or seventeen from Philadelphia.

On the 3d of September, we marched to Philadelphia.[56] Congress was in session as we went through the city. We paid it the honors which the King ordered us to pay. The thirteen members took off their thirteen hats at each salute of the flags and of the officers, and that is all that I have seen that was respectful or remarkable. After going through Philadelphia, we encamped on the banks of the Schuylkill River, a good mile in front of the city. We remain to-morrow.

On the 5th of September, we encamped at Chester, where we learned the authentic news of the arrival of the Count de Grasse with twenty-eight ships of the line, and three thousand five hundred troops under the Marquis de St. Simon, who landed them on the 27th of August, the day after his arrival, with orders to join the corps of the Marquis de Lafayette.

The joy which this welcome news produces among all the troops, which penetrates General Washington * and the

* I have been equally surprised and touched at the true and pure joy of General Washington. Of a natural coldness and of a serious and noble approach, which in him is only true dignity, and which adorns so well the chief of a whole nation, his features, his physiognomy, his deportment — all were changed in an instant. He put aside his character as arbiter of North America and contented himself for the moment with that of a citizen, happy at the good fortune of his country. A child, whose every wish had been gratified, would not have experienced a sensation more lively, and I believe that I am do-

[56] "Philadelphia was at one time gratified with the imposing spectacle of a French army in fine style of military array, consisting of six thousand men. They came down Front street; passed up Vine street, and encamped on the Commons at the Centre square. They were fine-looking soldiers, all in *white* uniform. They were under command of General Rochambeau, on their way to Yorktown." Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, ii. 328.

Count de Rochambeau, is more easy to feel than to express. The moment which is to be the recompense of our hardships, of our fatigues, and of our absence draws near, and I hope that we shall enjoy it.

On the 6th of September, we encamped at Wilmington.

On the 7th of September, we marched to Elkton, which may be considered as the head of Chesapeake Bay. Elkton is better known by the name of Head of Elk, since it is there that the river Elk begins to be navigable.

We hoped to find here sufficient means to embark our whole army, but there are boats for only twelve hundred men, and M. de Rochambeau employs them for embarking the grenadiers and chasseurs and the infantry of the legion of Lauzun.[58] The main body of the army will march by land as far as Baltimore, where I hope we shall go aboard ships. If we cannot find means of transportation, it will be necessary to march as far as the York River, a long and

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ing honor to the feelings of this rare man, in endeavoring to express all their ardor.[57]

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[57] The impressions which Washington made on the French officers were deep and decided. General Dumas, in his *Souvenirs*, i. 44, says, that "General Washington went in person to the French headquarters, accompanied by the Marquis de Lafayette. This interview between the two generals was to us a beautiful sight. We had been impatient to see the hero of liberty. His dignified address, the simplicity of his manners and mild gravity, surpassed our expectation, and won every heart." The Abbé Robin, in his *Nouveau Voyage*, pp. 62–3, is equally enthusiastic. See also *Voyages de M. le Marquis de Chastellux dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*. Paris, 1786, pp. 118–20.

[58] "M. de Custine, colonel of the regiment of Saint Onge, commanded the van of Washington's army, composed of a thousand French grenadiers, and as many American volunteers." *Operations of the French Fleet*, p. 75.

painful march; but we shall know how to endure it. We shall remain here to-morrow, the 9th [8th?] of September, and shall start again on our march the day after to-morrow.

On the 9th of September, we resumed our march. The trains were separated from the columns of troops, on account of the slender means which the ferry over the Susquehanna River affords for passing in boats; they were obliged to make a detour and to seek a ford seven miles above the ferry; the detour which they are making, the bad roads which they will meet with, will deprive us for several days of them; and we gaily make an exchange of our beds for simple bear-skins. The troops passed over the Susquehanna ferry to-day, the 9th, in boats, and we went into bivouac a mile from the lower ferry, where we crossed the river.

On the 10th of September, we bivouacked at Bush,[59] Harford [county].

On the 11th of September, we marched to White Marsh.[60] We were there joined by our tent wagons, but we hear nothing yet of our baggage-trains.

On the 12th of September, we arrived at Baltimore. The Baron de Viomesnil, as soon as we arrived, informed us of the means of transportation which had been furnished him, and which he thought sufficient to take the brigade of Bourbonnois. He charged the Marquis de Laval and myself to examine this matter and to make an exact estimate of the number of men that each boat would hold. We have taken

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[59] By the kindness of Colonel Brantz Mayer, of Baltimore, I am enabled to identify some of these places. "Burch Hartford" is Bush, at Bush River, sixteen miles east of Baltimore, in Harford County, on the Philadelphia turnpike.

[60] "Waite Marsch" is White Marsh, eleven miles east of Baltimore, on the Philadelphia turnpike.

every possible care, but notwithstanding our desire to succeed in embarking here, we see that it is impossible to think of it. The General has ordered for to-morrow a trial of embarking, and from that it will be decided whether we go by land or down Chesapeake Bay.[61]

On the 13th of September, in the morning, the trial of embarking was made according to the plan of yesterday. The Baron de Viomesnil considered it impossible to think of exposing the troops to the torture of one position, so uncomfortable and so restrained as that which they would be obliged to take for several days, and at great risks in the small boats, shamefully equipped in every respect. He determined to make us go by land, and all the arrangements for subsistence are going to be made. We have two days to remain here, and I shall occupy them with the indispensable repairs of clothes and shoes. We shall march again on the 16th, and it will be the end of the month at the earliest, before we reach our destination. The fatigue of so long a march is not the consideration which troubles me, but it is the fear that on our arrival, the operations against Lord Cornwallis will be begun, perhaps finished. The Baron de Viomesnil nevertheless assured me, that he had the positive statement of the Count de Rochambeau that he would undertake nothing before the arrival of our army. May he keep his word!

When we learned the news of the arrival of the Count de Grasse, we already knew of the arrival of Admiral Hood at Sandy Hook; and we are certain that he set sail two days

[61] Means for transportation at this time in Chesapeake Bay were very limited, as the English had destroyed everything upon which they could lay their hands, that could be used for this purpose.

after his arrival, with the addition of the squadron of Admiral Graves. We think that the English fleet will endeavor either to aid Cornwallis, or to cruise for the sake of cutting off the squadron of M. de Barras, which we know left Rhode Island to join M. de Grasse. We cannot be without anxiety as to the fate of M. de Barras.

On the 13th, our baggage reached us. A man, arriving from Virginia, assures us that M. de Grasse has sailed from Chesapeake Bay, and he speaks of a fight between the French fleet and the English fleet. I do not give much faith to it.

On the 15th, we have learned that the grenadiers and the chasseurs, who embarked at Head of Elk, have been obliged to put into Annapolis on account of bad weather.

On the 16th of September, we resumed our march, and encamped at Spurrier's Tavern.[62] The Baron de Viomesnil received, while there, a letter * from M. de la Villebrune, captain of the ship "Romulus," which announced to him his arrival at Annapolis, with sufficient means to take us down Chesapeake Bay. This news changed the plan of the General. He called the colonels together, to tell us his intention of marching to Annapolis, and there embarking us on boats intended for that purpose.

* This letter also assures us of the union of M. de Barras with M. de Grasse.

[62] "'Spurrer's Tavern' was Spurrier's Tavern, twelve miles on the Washington road, now the Waterloo Tavern. It was built by one of the Spurriers of Annapolis, and known by his name. This road (viz. the Elk Ridge) was used by people who dreaded the fords and ferries to Annapolis. Of Scott's Plantation I can get no information." *Letter of Colonel Brantz Mayer.*

On the 17th of September, we took the route for Annapolis, and encamped at Scott's Plantation.

On the 18th of September, we marched to Annapolis, where we found the boats which they had spoken of. They are working with all their might for the embarkment, and I hope that we shall be able to go on board to-morrow evening.*

* We learned at Annapolis of the fight which the Count de Grasse had on the 5th of September with the English squadron, under Admiral Graves.[63] The English appeared off the capes: M. de Grasse, who had not formed a junction with M. de Barras, and who was necessarily anxious, did not hesitate a moment about going out to fight the enemy. He cut his cables, and was at once under sail; as soon as the enemy discovered the intention of the French admiral, he set all sail to escape, and could be reached only by those French ships which were sheathed with copper.[64] This fight of the leading ships

[63] "The squadron of Admiral Graves had appeared on the 5th of September off Chesapeake Bay. The Count de Grasse, though he had already detached fifteen hundred sailors for landing the troops of M. St. Simon in the James River, did not hesitate to cut his cables, and go to meet the English fleet with twenty-four ships of the line. The English admiral got to the windward; the vanguard, commanded by M. de Bougainville, overtook the enemy, who was very roughly handled. The Count de Grasse pursued him to a distance, and on re-entering the bay, found the squadron of M. de Barras, who had profited by the action to reach the anchorage, after having ably convoyed the ten vessels which had our heavy artillery on board." *Souvenirs du lieut.-général M. Dumas*, i. 176.

This victory of the Count de Grasse was of great importance to the allied army. If the French had been defeated in this action, it would have left the British in the possession of Chesapeake Bay, and would have thwarted the plans of General Washington for the capture of Yorktown, and of the British army.

[64] "France began this war with the great disadvantage of fighting the swift, copper-fastened men-of-war of her rival with her own old-fashioned wooden bottoms." *Operations of the French Fleet*, p. 14.

On the 19th and 20th of September, we were engaged in embarking all the material of our army, but we did not go aboard until the morning of the 21st. Our little squadron is composed of the "Romulus," the frigates "Gentille," "Diligente," "Aigrette," "Iris," and the "Richmond[66] (the last two have just been taken from the English), and nine transports, — in all fifteen vessels.[67] I was embarked on the "Diligente," where I met Lord Rawdon;[68] Colonel Doyle, and Lieutenant Clark of the English Royal Navy, taken on

with the rear ships was not less brisk on that account, and visibly disadvantageous for the enemy. Night separated the combatants; but M. de Grasse kept up the chase during the whole day of the 6th, but gave it up the next day, lest the wind changing, should give the English an opportunity of getting into Chesapeake Bay; he retraced his route, and found the squadron of M. de Barras, which had entered during his absence.[65]

[65] "We made the Count de Barras, who had been at anchor in the roads for two days, start out two vessels of his division, as he could not make out which nation we belonged to. He had witnessed the affair of the 5th, but being unable to distinguish the French fleet, he had anchored in the roads, where we found him." *Operations of the French Fleet*, p. 75.

[66] The "Iris" and "Richmond" were frigates, each of forty guns, taken on the 11th of September, near the mouth of Chesapeake Bay.

[67] "When Washington arrived at Williamsburg, and found both the French fleets in Chesapeake Bay, he sent ten transports of De Barras's squadron to bring on the allied forces from Maryland." *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington*, p. 237.

[68] "Lord Rawdon, retiring to England in ill health, after his barbarous and unjustifiable execution of Haines. He had now the mortification to witness, as a prisoner, the defeat of Cornwallis on land, and Graves on the ocean." *Operations of the French Fleet*, etc. p. 64, note.

"The fleet, on their passage, took a packet from Charleston, with Lord Rawdon on board, bound to Europe." Letter of W. Gist to General Washington, in Boston *Independent Ledger*, Sept. 24th, 1781.

the packet "Queen Charlotte."[69] The last two had their wives with them.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, we set sail with a steady, fresh wind.

On the 22d, at four o'clock in the afternoon, we discovered the ships which blockaded the mouth of the York River; at six o'clock, we perceived the main fleet, and at eight o'clock we anchored in Lynn Haven Bay, in the midst of the French fleet.

On the 23d of September, at five o'clock in the morning, we set sail again, and entered the James River, which we intend to go up.

In the evening of the 24th, we reached Hogs Ferry, the place of our landing. The navigation of the James River is very difficult; we were continually obliged to heave the lead; and, notwithstanding all our precautions, several vessels got aground, and were floated off only by the tide.

On the 25th of September, our troops landed and encamped half a mile from Hogs Ferry.

On the 26th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, we marched and encamped at Williamsburg. We learned there that

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[69] "On the 24th [of August, 1781], we took three English vessels; one of which, commanded by a lieutenant in the navy, carried 16 six-pounders and 8 eighteen-pound howitzers. She had on board four officers and several young women, who, on passing into our hands, were greatly rejoiced at their adversity, and said that the French, even on the sea, were better than their countrymen. There is one style in which they surely would not prove it — being very knowing. I would willingly rely on their judgment, so far as their experience goes. The smaller of the other two was carrying to England a general officer, who had commanded at Savannah and Charleston, which he had left a week before, and who enjoyed the highest reputation." *Operations of the French Fleet*, p. 64.

Lord Cornwallis had sent some fire-ships to destroy the French vessels which were blockading him, but they have had no effect except to frighten badly some of the crews. Lord Cornwallis is at work briskly in entrenching himself, and shortly we shall march to the place of attack.

On the 28th, the whole combined army was put in march from Williamsburg to encamp near Yorktown. During a part of the way the army marched in one column, the Americans having the lead. Four miles from our destination, at a fork of two roads, both of which led to Yorktown, the Americans took the right road, and the French, composed, first, of the volunteers under the Baron St. Simon, brother of the general; second, of the grenadiers and chasseurs of the seven regiments of our army; third, of the brigades of Agenois, Soisonnois, and Bourbonnois, marching left in front, — took the left road.

We separated, brigade by brigade, a mile from the town and began to invest it. The brigade of Bourbonnois had scarcely reached the position it was to take, when we were informed that some troops of the enemy were appearing. The Count de Rochambeau gave orders to the Marquis de Laval to take the pickets and the artillery of the brigade and follow them up; we started, and after five or six cannon shots, the small detachment took flight.

On the 29th of September, General Washington advanced the American army lines in order to tighten the investment. The English troops, encamped in front, fell back on Yorktown and fired some cannon, which had no other effect than to wound one man.

In the night of the 29th–30th, the English, whose advanced posts touched ours, abandoned them, and evacuated two redoubts on the side of the French, and one on the side

of the Americans, and all the posts and small batteries which they had built to defend a creek, which I should consider of the utmost importance to them.[70] I followed the Count de Rochambeau in his rounds reconnoitring these redoubts. The places evacuated allowed us to see and to judge of all the land which surrounds the town and the works which are to defend it; and it seems to me for this reason that the enemy ought to have kept these redoubts until they were forced to abandon them, although in themselves, these works were of no great importance.[71] It would have compelled us to feel our way, and would have held us in doubt; it would have retarded our works, perhaps, instead of leaving us masters of all the approaches to the place, to the distance of six or eight hundred yards. It is clear that the approaches are as easy as possible; means of shelter everywhere; some small, commanding places; and the works, neither strong nor considerable in themselves, are, it seems to me, too extended, forming too large an enclosure to be defended easily. We examined carefully the redoubts evacuated; they are not solid; the parapets are not thick, and are made of sandy soil which obliges

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[70] Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, whose name is several times mentioned in these pages, and who took an active part in the defence of Gloucester, wrote a *History of the Campaign of* 1780 *and* 1781, Dublin, 1787, in which he severely criticises, on pp. 374–5, the course of Lord Cornwallis, in giving up these positions, so necessary for prolonging the siege until reinforcements should come.

[71] "We were agreeably surprised this morning [Sept. 30] to find that the enemy had, during the preceding night, abandoned three or four of their redoubts, and retired within the town, leaving a considerable extent of commanding ground which might have cost us much labor and many lives to obtain by force." Dr. Thacher's *Military Journal*, 2d ed., p. 271.

them to be propped up lest they fall down; but the abatis are excellent, having no other fault but being made of pine, and, in consequence, easy to set on fire. I advanced three hundred paces nearer the town, and saw a ravine, nearly twenty-five feet deep, which surrounds the whole place, and enters York River above and below the town. This ravine seems to me to be an excellent defence, and I do not understand why the enemy left it. Our General at once occupied these two abandoned redoubts; the one by the grenadiers of Bourbonnois, the other by fifty chasseurs of the regiment of Royal Deuxponts. The rest of the battalion of grenadiers and chasseurs of the brigade and its pickets were placed a little in the rear, behind a slope which shelters them from the guns. This reconnoissance and all these movements could not be made without being discovered from the town, and without causing some guns to be fired at us. They have aimed eight or ten shots at us, but no one has been killed or wounded.

On the same morning, the Viscount de Viomesnil wishing to reconnoitre the enemy's works in advance of our left, pushed out in front the volunteers of St. Simon. They took possession of the woods which cover these works, by forcing the English pickets who defended them to fall back on a redoubt, which kept up a sharp volley of bullets and grape, and killed a hussar, broke the arm of another, and the thigh of an officer of the regiment of Agenois. The Count de Rochambeau ordered, on the return of this reconnoissance, the camp of the brigade of Bourbonnois to be changed. We withdrew it in the course of the afternoon, and established ourselves in a wood, a half mile in advance of our first position.

On the 1st of October, at daybreak, the Americans began

to work on an intermediate redoubt, between those evacuated on the side of the French and that one evacuated on the side of the Americans. The English were not slow in finding it out, and fired at least three hundred cannon-shots in the course of the day, which killed only two men, and have not interrupted the work.

On the same day, I made a special reconnoissance on the enemy's left, and I did not find the defences better than on the side that I have already seen. The land is a little more open, and gives greater facility to the enemy to direct his shots at our works; but that is the only advantage which this side has for the enemy. I went as far as the York River, and I saw all the English vessels, the position of Gloucester, and the French ships which blockade the river.

On the 2d of October, the Americans keep up their work on the redoubts; the English fire at them, but the whole loss of the day has been only one man killed.

I have made to-day my reconnoissance of the enemy's right, and I consider that it is the best of all the parts of his line of defence.

The fire that the enemy has kept up for the last two days on the redoubts which the Americans are building, has considerably slackened. They fire no more than a cannon shot from time to time.

Rather sharp firing was heard in the morning from the other side of the river, after which Tarleton's cavalry was seen returning in a hurry and in disorder. We think that it has made a sortie from the lines of Gloucester to attack the legion of Lauzun, and we hope that it has been driven back.[72]

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[72] "The British are in possession of a place called Gloucester, on the north side of the river, nearly opposite Yorktown; their force

On the 4th of October, the news of the engagement between the legion of Lauzun and Tarleton's cavalry is confirmed; the legion of Lauzun has repulsed Tarleton. The Duke de Lauzun has charged several times; he was supported by M. de Choisy, who had just arrived with eight hundred marines.

We have also received this morning the authentic news that after the naval fight of the 5th of September, the English ship of the line "Terrible," of 74 guns, was so badly used that they blew her up; moreover, the "London," the "Shrewsbury," the "Robust," and the "Prudent," were in bad condition.

In the night of the 4th–5th of October, we sent out from our redoubts more patrols than ordinarily, and the Viscount de Viomesnil, general officer of the day, expressly ordered them to go as far as the intrenchments of the enemy. This order has been perfectly executed; almost all our patrols have fired at the enemy, and it seems that this has caused him some anxiety, for he kept up during the whole night considerable and sustained cannonading. The new redoubt which the Americans have built, and the one

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consists of a British regiment, and Colonel Tarleton's legion of horse and infantry. In opposition to this force the French legion, under the command of the Duke de Lauzun, and a detachment of French infantry and militia are posted in that vicinity. Tarleton is a bold and impetuous leader, and has spread terror through the Carolinas and Virginia for some time past. In making a sally from Gloucester yesterday, they were attacked by the French, and defeated with the loss of the commanding officer of their infantry, and about fifty men killed and wounded, among the latter is Tarleton himself. The Duke lost three men killed, and two officers and eleven men wounded." Dr. Thacher's *Military Journal*. 2d ed., p. 272.

which the English evacuated, and they repaired, are both of them completely finished.

The night of the 5th–6th was passed like the preceding, with the same patrols and the same cannonading.

On the 6th of October, everything being in readiness; the fascines, the gabions, the hurdles, and the saucissons being made; almost all the siege-guns * having arrived; the place of the trenches being settled upon, — the General has given the order to open them this very evening.

The regiments of Bourbonnois and of Soisonnois have received orders for duty in the trenches, and two hundred and fifty men from each of the four regiments which are not in the trenches (the regiment of Touraine being on special duty) have been ordered for the work. All these troops were assembled at the beginning of the trenches at five o'clock in the afternoon; and the Baron de Viomesnil, general officer of the trenches, immediately disposed the regiments in the places where they were to cover them. The engineer officers, after night-fall, placed the workmen, and at eight o'clock in the evening the work began. The Americans, who have the right of the works and of the attack, have made a similar disposition; the work has been very well conducted, and in the greatest silence. The enemy has fired very little. The right of the attack begins at the York River, about four hundred yards from the town; and the parallel extends, increasing from one hundred to one hundred and twenty yards' distance, near the redoubt newly built by the Americans.

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* Our siege-guns were put aboard the ships that came with the squadron of the Count de Barras. They were landed seven miles from Yorktown.

The regiment of Touraine is detached from the army, and has a special duty. It is charged with the construction of the defence of a battery of eight pieces of artillery, and of six howitzers and mortars, which is building on the enemy's right, and which serves as a false attack. The enemy has directed his fire to-night upon this work. A captain of artillery has had his thigh broken, a grenadier has been killed, and six others have been wounded.

On the 7th of October, the regiment of Agenois and the regiment of Saint Onge relieved the trenches at noon. They are now sufficiently advanced to be occupied by the first battalions of the regiments of the trenches; the second battalions are placed in the ravines to the rear, but within supporting distance of the first battalions, at the first movement of the enemy.

On the 8th of October, the regiments of Gatinois and of Royal Deuxponts were detailed for duty in the trenches; we worked hard on the batteries, which seem to me to be placed perfectly; and I hope that we shall very soon see the effect of them.

On the 9th of October, the regiments of Bourbonnois and of Soisonnois relieved the trenches; at four o'clock in the afternoon, an American battery of two mortars and eighteen pieces of artillery, eighteen pounders and twenty-four pounders, began to fire, and the battery of the regiment of Touraine also began.

On the 10th of October, one of the batteries of our front of attack, composed of four twenty-four-pounders, eight sixteen-pounders, four mortars, and two howitzers, has been unmasked, and we have begun to make it play. The superiority of the fire of these different batteries over those of the enemy, silenced the firing from the town. All our guns

have been well aimed; several parapets can already be seen with their tops damaged; and we know, from the reports of several deserters, that the enemy has been much astonished at the firing of our batteries, and that our shells, especially, disturb him much. He fires now scarcely six guns an hour, while heretofore he has kept up rather a steady fire, and well directed; nevertheless, we have had no reason to complain of the number of men killed and wounded. The trenches have been filled to-day by the regiments of Agenois and of Saint Onge. The enemy wishing this morning to make an attempt on M. de Choisy, sent up the river several flat-boats full of troops; but M. de Choisy, knowing his design, brought some guns and forced him to retire.

On the 11th of October, the regiments of Gatinois and of Royal Deuxponts relieved the trenches, and the same night we constructed our second parallel within short musket range of the town, to be ready against a vigorous sortie. Several companies were ordered in consequence as auxiliary grenadiers and chasseurs; and the Chevalier de Chastellux, general officer of the trenches, made such disposition of the troops as to receive the enemy in the most advantageous manner. At eight o'clock in the evening we began the work; at ten o'clock we heard a score of musket shots; everybody thought that it was the beginning of an attack, but it was only an English patrol. There were several small volleys of this kind during the night, and it is to this all the outside attempts of the enemy are confined. Nevertheless, they fire many cannon, bombs, and howitzers; but the fire of our artillery preserves its superiority, and the fire of the enemy has very little effect. At daybreak, our men were sufficiently covered to be safe from running any more great risks.

The fear lest the fire of our batteries, but slightly elevated over the heads of the workmen, should produce some accident, caused the order to our artillery to be suspended. The enemy took advantage of this moment of silence to direct a very brisk fire against our works. The order to the artillery was then countermanded, and they gave again our batteries liberty to fire. Half an hour after our fire began, that of the enemy diminished; and when we went into the trenches, it was reduced to what it was ordinarily.

On the 12th of October, the regiments of Bourbonnois and of Soisonnois relieved the trenches.

On the 13th, the regiments of Agenois and of Saint Onge were detailed for duty in the trenches; the position of all the batteries of the second parallel is masked, and in two days they will be able to open. Two redoubts of the enemy interrupt completely the continuation of our second parallel, which ought of necessity to be continued to the York River. As long as these two works belong to the enemy, our parallel will be imperfect; and we all hope that they will be attacked at once.

On the 14th of October, the regiments of Gatinois and of Royal Deuxponts relieved the trenches; at the assembly of the regiment of Royal Deuxponts for duty in the trenches, the Baron de Viomesnil ordered me to come to him on our arrival at the beginning of the trenches. I carried out his orders; he separated the grenadiers and chasseurs of the two regiments of the trenches, and gave me the command of the battalion that he had just formed, telling me that he thought he gave me by that a proof of his esteem and confidence. His words were not enigmatical to me; I was not mistaken as to the object for which he intended me. A moment afterwards he confirmed my opinion, telling me that

I should make the attack on one of the redoubts which obstructed the continuation of our second parallel. He gave me orders to place my battalion under cover, and to wait until he should send for me to make with him a reconnoissance of the redoubt. In the course of the afternoon, he took me, with the Baron de L'Estrade, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Gatinois, whom he had given to me as second in command, and two sergeants from the grenadiers and chasseurs of this regiment, men as brave as they were intelligent, and who were charged particularly to reconnoitre with the strictest exactitude the road which we should have to follow during the night. We examined with the greatest care the object of the attack, and all the details. The General explained very clearly to us his plans. M. de L'Estrade, on account of his experience, and the perfect knowledge which he has of the course to take under like circumstances, would, moreover, make up for the blunders which I might commit. The General ordered me at once to form my battalion, and to lead it to that part of the trenches nearest to which we ought to come out. I called together the captains of my battalion, and told them the duty with which we were honored. I had no occasion to excite their courage, nor that of the troops whom I commanded; but it was my duty to let them know the wishes of the General, and the exact order in which we were to attack the enemy.

We then started to go into the trenches; we passed by many troops, either of the trenches, of workmen, or of the auxiliary grenadiers and chasseurs. Everybody wished me success and glory, and expressed regrets at not being able to go with me. That moment seemed to me very sweet, and was very elevating to the soul and animating to the courage. My brother,—especially, my brother, and I never

shall forget it, — gave me marks of a tenderness which penetrated to the bottom of my heart. I reached the place that the Baron de Viomesnil had indicated to me; I there awaited nightfall; and shortly after dark, the General ordered me to leave the trenches, and to draw up my column in the order of attack. He informed me of the signal of six consecutive shells, fired from one of our batteries, at which I was to advance; and in this position I awaited the signal agreed upon.

The chasseurs of the regiment of Gatinois had the head of my column. They were in column by platoons; the first fifty carried fascines; of the other fifty there were only eight who carried ladders; after them came the grenadiers of Gatinois, ranged by files, then the grenadiers and chasseurs of the regiment of Royal Deuxponts, in column by sections. The whole was preceded by the two sergeants of the regiment of Gatinois, of whom I have already spoken, and by eight carpenters, four from the regiment of Gatinois, and four from the regiment of Royal Deuxponts. The chasseurs of the regiments of Bourbonnois and of Agenois, were a hundred paces to the rear of my battalion, and were intended to support me; and the second battalion of the regiment of Gatinois, commanded by the Count de Rostaing, completed my reserve. Before starting, I had ordered that no one should fire before reaching the crest of the parapet of the redoubt; and when established upon the parapet, that no one should jump into the works before receiving the orders to do so.

The attack of the French troops was combined with that which the American troops were making on my right, upon a redoubt which rested on the York River. This redoubt was of equal importance on account of the obstacle which it

interposed to the continuation of the second parallel. The Marquis de Lafayette commanded this attack, which was to be made at the same time, and was to begin at the same signal as our attack.

The six shells were fired at last; and I advanced in the greatest silence; at a hundred and twenty or thirty paces, we were discovered; and the Hessian soldier who was stationed as a sentinel on the parapet, cried out "Werda"? [*Who comes there?*] * to which we did not reply, but hastened our steps. The enemy opened fire the instant after the "Werda." We lost not a moment in reaching the abatis, which being strong and well preserved, at about twenty-five paces from the redoubt, cost us many men, and stopped us for some minutes, but was cleared away with brave determination; we threw ourselves into the ditch at once, and each one sought to break through the fraises, and to mount the parapet.† We reached there at first in small numbers, and I gave the order to fire; the enemy kept up a sharp fire, and charged us at the point of the bayonet; but no one was driven back. The carpenters, who had worked hard on their part, had made some breaches in the palisades, which helped the main body of the troops in mounting. The parapet was becoming manned visibly.

* The English officers taken in the redoubt have told me since, that the moment we were discovered was seized by the English commander, named MacPherson, and by thirty men, to save themselves ignominiously.

† That was not an easy thing to do. I could not have succeeded without aid. I had fallen back into the ditch after a first attempt. M. de Sillegue, a young officer of the chasseurs of Gatinois, who was ahead of me, saw my difficulty, and gave me his arm to assist me in getting up. He received at nearly the same time a musket shot in the thigh.

Our fire was increasing, and making terrible havoc among the enemy, who had placed themselves behind a kind of intrenchment of barrels, where they were well massed, and where all our shots told. We succeeded at the moment when I wished to give the order to leap into the redoubt and charge upon the enemy with the bayonet; then they laid down their arms, and we leaped in with more tranquillity and less risk. I shouted immediately the cry of *Vive le Roi*, which was repeated by all the grenadiers and chasseurs who were in good condition, by all the troops in the trenches, and to which the enemy replied by a general discharge of artillery and musketry.[73] I never saw a sight more beautiful or more majestic. I did not stop to look at it; I had to give attention to the wounded, and directions to be observed towards the prisoners. At the same time, the Baron de Viomesnil came to give me orders to be prepared for a vigorous defence, as it would be important for the enemy to attempt to retake this work. An active enemy would not have failed, and the Baron de Viomesnil judged the English general by himself. I made my dispositions to the best of my ability; the enemy showered bullets upon us. I did not doubt that the idea of the Baron de Viomesnil would be fulfilled. Finally, when all was over, a sentinel, charged with observing the movements without, called me, and said that some of the enemy were appearing. I raised my head above the parapet, and at the same time a ball,

[73] "The French chasseurs and grenadiers met with more difficulties and greater loss; but they entered with fixed bayonets, and made themselves masters of the redoubt. The Count de Deuxponts, the Count Charles de Damas, and several other French officers of distinction were amongst the foremost of the assailants." *History of the Campaigns of* 1780 *and* 1781, p. 386.

which ricochetted in the parapet, and passed very near my head, covered my face with sand and gravel. I suffered much, and was obliged to leave the place, and to be conducted to the ambulance.

Fifty-six grenadiers and chasseurs of the regiment of Gatinois, twenty-one grenadiers and chasseurs of the Royal Deuxponts,[74] six chasseurs of the Agenois, and nine soldiers of the second battalion of the Gatinois, have been killed or wounded, in this attack, which lasted only seven minutes. Moreover, M. de Barthelot, captain of the regiment of Gatinois, was killed; M. de Sireuil, captain of the chasseurs of this regiment,* had his leg broken, and M. de Sillegue, second lieutenant of chasseurs, was shot through his thigh. The Chevalier de La Meth received two musket balls, one of which broke his knee-pan, and the other pierced his thigh.[75] He volunteered for this attack, as also did the Count de Damas; I endeavored to prevent their doing so; but neither of them listened to the representations that would

* M. de Sireuil died forty days after, from the effects of his wound.

[74] General Washington gave "to the regiments of Agenois [Gatinois?] and Deuxponts the two pieces of brass ordnance captured by them, as a testimony of their gallantry in storming the enemy's redoubt on the night of the 14th instant," which gift was afterwards confirmed by a resolve of Congress. *Memoir of General John Lamb.* Albany, 1850, p. 387.

[75] "I had just been relieved by the Chevalier de Lameth. He marched at the head of the column, leading the sappers, who cleared away the abatis, and cut down the palisades. He was the first to mount the parapet of the redoubt, and received point blank the first discharge of the Hessian infantry which occupied it. Balls passed through both his knees, and he fell into the ditch." *Souvenirs du lieut.-général M. Dumas*, i. 85.

have kept them from glory. The Count de Vauban was also at my attack, and was charged by the Count de Rochambeau to be present in order to give him an account of the affair.[76]

[76] The following account of this affair is taken from the Boston *Evening Post*, November 17, 1781.

"Copy of the report of his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau:

"On the night between the 14th and 15th instant, the trench was mounted by the regiments of Gatinois and Royal Deuxponts, commanded by the Baron de Viomesnil, to which were added our companies of auxiliary grenadiers. We had resolved to attack as soon as dark, the two redoubts on the left of the enemy, that were detached from their other works. The Marquis de la Fayette undertook that on our right, with the American troops; the Baron de Viomesnil that on the left, with the French. Four hundred grenadiers, commanded by the Count William Deuxponts and M. de L'Estrade, lieut. colonel of Gatinois, opened the attack; they were supported by the regiment of Gatinois. The Marquis de la Fayette, and the Baron Viomesnil made so vigorous and strong disposition of their troops, that they carried two redoubts sword in hand, and killed, wounded, or took the greater part of those who defended them. The number of prisoners amounts to seventy-three, one major and five other officers included.

"The troops, both American and French, have shown the most distinguished courage. The Count William Deuxponts was slightly wounded by a cannon ball; he is not in the least danger. The Chevalier de la Methe, Adjutant Quarter-Master-General, has been severely wounded in both knees by two different musket balls. M. de Sireuil, captain of the chasseurs of the regiment of Aginois, and two other officers of the same regiment have been wounded. 'Tis the third time that M. de Sireuil, though very young, has been wounded; unluckily, this time, the wound is very dangerous. We have had ten men killed or wounded. The troops are full of the highest praises of the Baron de Viomesnil, who likewise is exceedingly pleased with their courage and firmness.

"I have ordered two days' pay to be distributed to the four companies of grenadiers and chasseurs of the regiment of Gatinois and Royal Deuxponts, besides a considerable reward to the ax-bearers and carpenters, who open the way for the troops through the abattis and pallisadoes."

With troops so good, so brave, and so disciplined as those that I have the honor to lead against the enemy, one can undertake anything, and be sure of succeeding, if the impossibility of it has not been proved. I owe them the happiest day of my life, and certainly the recollection of it will never be effaced from my mind. Would that I were able to find myself, under like circumstances, again with them; and would that I were able, especially after having again been happy through their means, to give them proofs, more real and more fit, of my zeal and my ardor to serve them.

In the course of that night, the second parallel was continued. It crosses the redoubt taken by the French and ends at the redoubt taken by the Americans, whose attack was equally successful with ours.

The day of the 15th of October was employed in perfecting the second parallel. In the night of the 15th–16th, the enemy made an assault; the trenches were not guarded with all desirable precaution; many slept; there were few sentinels; a picket that distrusted nothing; some batteries, where there was nobody. In short, the enemy succeeded in spiking four guns of a French battery, and two of an American battery.[77] We marched out forthwith against the ene-

[77] General Washington, in a letter, dated Oct. 16th, 1781, says:

"The works which we have carried, are of vast importance to us. From them we shall enfilade the enemy's whole line; and I am in hopes we shall be able to command the communication from York to Gloucester. I think the batteries of the second parallel will be in sufficient forwardness to begin to play in the course of this day. The enemy last night made a sortie for the first time. They entered one of the French and one of the American batteries on the second parallel, which were unfinished. They had only time to thrust the points of their bayonets into the touch-holes of four pieces of the French and two of the American artillery, and break them off; but the spikes

my; but his retreat was already begun, and we could not overtake him. The guns that were spiked were rendered serviceable on the morning of the 16th; almost all our batteries will be established and ready to open to-morrow.

On the 17th of October, we began at ricochet with so much success, that a large part of the fraises of the works of the place were knocked down, and in several places breaches were begun. At ten o'clock in the morning, Lord Cornwallis sent a flag of truce to General Washington, to decide the fate of the garrisons of Yorktown and Gloucester, and to demand a suspension of hostilities. From that moment they began to make arrangements for capitulation; but they continued to fire until four o'clock, when by means of a new flag of truce, the firing stopped on both sides. Negotiations are entered upon, and we are assured that even the principal articles are already agreed upon.

On the 18th of October, the arrangements for capitulation have been continued. Some little discussion, they say, came up which delayed the conclusion; but this evening arrangements have been definitively settled.

On the 19th of October, at nine o'clock in the morning,

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were easily extracted. They were repulsed the moment the supporting troops came up, leaving behind them seven or eight dead, and six prisoners. The French had four officers and twelve privates killed and wounded, and we had one sergeant mortally wounded." Sparks's *Washington*, viii. 180.

"In the night of the 15th, the enemy made a sortie with six hundred chosen troops, and finding all our redoubts well manned, attacked a battery of the second parallel, where he spiked four pieces. The Chevalier de Chatelus with his reserve, repulsed this sortie of the enemy. The four pieces, badly spiked, were in good condition six hours afterwards, through the care of General d'Aboville, commander of our artillery." *Rochambeau's Mémoires*, i. 294–5.

the articles were signed; and at four o'clock in the afternoon, the English army, as prisoners of war, composed of the First Battalion of the Guards of the King of England; of the Seventeenth, Twenty-Third, Thirty-Third, and Forty-Third Regiments of Infantry; of the Seventy-First, Seventy-Sixth, and Eightieth Regiments of Scotch Highlanders; of the Hessian Regiments of the Hereditary Prince and of Bose, of the Anspach and Baireuth Regiments; of the Light Infantry, of the British Legion, and of the Queen's Rangers,[78] have filed between the French and American armies, drawn up in line of battle, the one opposite the other. The captured army immediately laid down their arms, and returned without arms to Yorktown.[79] The regiments of Bourbonnois and of Royal Deuxponts, which were in the trenches when the negotiations began, were not relieved until after the ceremony.

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[78] A partisan corps, made up for the most part of tories and deserters from the Americans.

[79] It was only a year and a half before this time, that Lord Cornwallis had received the sword of General Lincoln, at the surrender of Charleston; and the same rigid conditions which he required at that time were now exacted from him. "We learn that General Lincoln received the captured Lord Cornwallis, and that the army played up Yankey doodle when the British army marched to lay down their arms." Boston *Independent Ledger*, Nov. 12, 1781.

Until recently the custom has prevailed in some parts of Massachusetts, and perhaps elsewhere, of celebrating occasionally the anniversary of the surrender of Yorktown. Such a celebration was called a "Cornwallis"; and it was intended to represent, in a burlesque manner, the siege of the town, as well as the ceremony of the surrender. The most prominent generals on each side would be personated, while the men of the two armies would wear what was supposed to be their peculiar uniform. In 10 Cushing, 252, is to be found a decision of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, enjoining a town treasurer from paying money that had been appropriated by the town for such a celebration.

The number of the enemy captured, as many soldiers as sailors, is more than eight thousand; two hundred and fourteen guns, of which seventy-four are brass, fell into our hands.

On the 21st of October, the different captured regiments came out regiment by regiment from Yorktown, to be conducted to their different destinations, either in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania.

Orders were given to the assistant quartermasters of the army to establish lodgings for the French army, which was immediately to take winter quarters, and to occupy the towns of Williamsburg, Hampton, Yorktown, and Gloucester.[80]

The Count de Rochambeau was pleased to tell me that he had detailed me to take to France the duplicate of the news of the capture of Lord Cornwallis; and he ordered me to hold myself in readiness to embark at the earliest date.[81]

On the 24th of October, after having taken orders from the Count de Rochambeau, and having received the packages

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[80] "The French army went into winter quarters in the country between James and York Rivers, Hampton, York, Gloucester, Williamsburg, etc., an intermediate position betwen the Northern and Southern States, from which M. de Rochambeau was able to send succor to the provinces which might be the most seriously threatened by the enemy." *Souvenirs du lieut.-général M. Dumas*, i. 91–2.

[81] The Count de Rochambeau sent the Duke de Lauzun to France to take the news of the surrender of Cornwallis by one frigate, and the Count des Deuxponts by another [the *Andromaque*,] taking a duplicate account. *Mémoires*, i. 296. On page 301, he speaks of hearing in the beginning of 1782, of their safe arrival in France. The news of the surrender of Yorktown first reached London, Nov. 25th, by the way of France. Jesse's *Life of George the Third*. London, 1867, ii. 333, note.

which he had intrusted to me, I embarked at Yorktown to go to the fleet, and to take orders from the Count de Grasse. I slept on board of the "Ville de Paris," [82] and on the 25th, M. de Dumas, de Laval, de Charlus, and myself, embarked on board of the frigate "Andromaque," upon which we are going to leave for France.

On the 26th, we were kept back by the winds; on the 27th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, we set sail with a fair fresh wind. After having passed the Middle Ground Banks,* the moment we found ourselves off Cape Henry, we saw the frigate "Concorde" making signals to us, repeating those of the frigate "Hermione," which was cruising between Cape Charles and Cape Henry, to inform the army of whatever went on outside. The "Hermione" signalized a squadron of forty-four sails.[83] There was no reason to doubt that

* The Count de Grasse, who had been lying moored since the beginning of his station in Lynn Haven Bay, had left that position, and had anchored behind the Middle Ground Banks.[84]

[82] This was a noted ship in the French navy. She was a present from the City of Paris to the King, and carried 110 guns. She was captured by the English, April 12th, 1782, and afterwards foundered at sea.

[83] "The *Andromache* was about to hoist sail on the 28th, to carry duplicates of the same despatches; but returned into the bay; the frigates on the watch having signalled the English fleet; on the morning of the 29th, thirty-one sails could be already made out off Cape Charles; by evening, forty-four were signalled; the 30th, they made various manœuvres, sometimes on one tack, sometimes on the other; at last, at three, they stood on the larboard tack, with the wind on the quarter, and we saw no more of them." *Operations of the French Fleet*, p. 164.

[84] "The Count de Grasse then left the anchorage of Lynn Haven, where ships are not safe, and occupied that beyond Middle Ground

they were the enemy, of whom we had been informed three days before. It was now impossible for us to continue our course, and we put about, to return to the James River.

On the 28th of October, the enemy continued to cruise within sight, and we learn that they bring six thousand infantry to the aid of Lord Cornwallis. I imagine that they will soon learn of his surrender, and that they will give up the idea of attacking thirty-six French vessels with their twenty-eight vessels. Our position in the James River not being very good, we set sail to-day to return to the main squadron, of which we shall await the departure before we leave ourselves.

On the 29th, the English squadron is continually in sight, and we wait with impatience for the Count de Grasse to make the signal to set sail. We went to-day on board of his ship; he is suffering considerably from a severe oppression in breathing [asthma?]. We there learned that the reasons of the delay in his leaving, are the embarkation of the troops of the division of M. de St. Simon. He is expecting, moreover, four hundred oxen to provision the fleet; and not wishing to return to Chesapeake Bay, he is obliged to wait until his vessels are all ready.

On the 30th of October, there was no knowledge of the enemy this morning.

On the 1st of November, as the enemy had not appeared for two days, the Count de Grasse sent an ensign on board of the "Andromaque," to wish us a pleasant voyage, and to

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and Horseshoe Bank." *Supplement à la Gazette de France*, 20 Nov. 1781. Translated by Henry B. Dawson, Esq., and found on page 37 of *Two Letters respecting the Conduct of Rear Admiral Graves*. Morrisania, N. Y., 1866.

permit our captain, M. de Ravanel, to set sail. We got under way at eleven o'clock, passed Cape Henry at two o'clock, and afterwards brought it to bear east. The "Hermione" escorted us until night.

On the 2d of November, at half-past seven in the morning, we discovered a sail at a great distance, which immediately gave us chase. The orders of the Count de Grasse to avoid every action, were precise and clear; and for that reason we set all sail to escape. This vessel sailed better than ours, which did not sail well; and if the day had lasted two hours longer, she would have come up with us. We took a false course during the night, and the next day we could discover nothing.

From the 2d to the 20th of November, the day of our arrival in France, we made a good run. The fresh and strong winds drove us along better than we could expect from the speed of our frigate. The passage was rough; we experienced some gales, but they favored our wishes, and accomplished our object. After a passage of nineteen days, we made the coast of France; and on the 24th of November, I enjoyed the inexpressible pleasure of embracing, at Versailles, those persons who are to me the dearest.

The life of man is mingled with pain; but one ought not to complain when he has enjoyed those delicious moments which are its compensations. A single instant makes him forget them; and that instant deeply felt makes him even desire new pains, in order to enjoy again their recompense.

END.

[LETTERS.]

Letter which the Baron de Viomesnil, commanding general of the attack on the two redoubts, wrote, in sending me the account he gave of these attacks to the Count de Rochambeau:

IN CAMP FRONT OF YORKTOWN, 16 October, 1781.

You have done so much, Count, for the success, which is going to hasten the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis, that I must make it my duty to address you herewith a copy of the account which I gave to the Count de Rochambeau of the events in the trenches on the 14th–15th. If I was mistaken in regard to certain things which you could see before, you will do me great pleasure in giving me notice of it, so that I can correct my errors. I have a strong desire that the promotion I asked for you and for M. de L'Estrade, your comrade in glory, should be accorded. I believe the good of the service is interested in it. Events of this kind are so rare, the service which you have rendered has been so useful, and the distinction and the energy of your conduct are so well known throughout the whole army, that I do not think there exists a single Frenchman who could disapprove of your being made brigadier.

As for myself, Count, I am too happy in being able to find this occasion of proving to you my opinion and my confidence; I desire that this should prompt you to accord to me your friendship, and to continue to make some account of the sentiments of the tender and faithful attachment with which I have the honor to be, etc.,

[Signed] VIOMESNIL.

Account rendered by the Baron de Viomesnil to the Count de Rochambeau, of the attack on the two redoubts at Yorktown:

IN THE TRENCHES, 14th–15th October, 1783. [*sic.*]

GENERAL: — General Washington having approved, last evening in the trenches, of the disposition which I had made, and of my instructions given to the Marquis de Lafayette, to General Steuben, as well as to MM. des Deuxponts, de L'Estrade, and de Rostaing for the attack on the two redoubts on the left of the enemy, which you have prescribed for me to carry, I came back to the column of attack which I had proposed to lead in person, and after having given to the Count de Custine the directions and necessary orders about the troops which were to remain in the trenches, we debouched at the signal agreed upon, in good order and in silence. The two redoubts were attacked and carried nearly at the same time. The Marquis de Lafayette behaved at the attack, with which he was charged, with as much intrepidity as intelligence. His infantry showed themselves there as if they were grenadiers accustomed to difficult things; all those who defended the redoubt attacked by the Americans were killed or captured. A major and an officer were among the latter. The Count William des Deuxponts, who commanded four hundred grenadiers or chasseurs, whom I had intended for the attack on the grand redoubt, marched there, as well as M. de L'Estrade, lieutenant-colonel of the Gatinois, whom I had placed under his orders and in his advance guard, with so much order and firmness, that they were not six minutes in making themselves masters of this redoubt, and in manning it. They went in, both of them, with the first grenadiers, after

they had cut a passage, with axe in hand, through the abatis in the ditch, and through the fraises of this work. A hundred and forty men who defended it, and who kept up a very sharp fire of musketry, were killed or captured. Some of them escaped, among whom Colonel MacPherson is supposed to be. The Count de Rostaing, who marched with two companies of auxiliary chasseurs, and the second battalion of his regiment, to the support of this attack, equally conducted himself with much courage and distinction. Four hundred men of the regiment of Gatinois showed themselves, under these circumstances, as if Auvergne [85] had been there altogether. The particular details must please you. Unfortunately, they have lost nearly seventy men, of whom fifty were grenadiers or chasseurs. M. de Berthelot was killed; M. de Sireuil, captain of chasseurs, and an officer of great distincton, had his leg shattered, and M. de Sillegue, lieutenant of chasseurs was very severely wounded. The grenadiers and chasseurs of Deuxponts have had twenty-two men killed or wounded; the chasseurs of Agenois six men killed; those of Bourbonnois, who had the head of the column, commanded by M. de Rostaing, fortunately lost no one. This decisive

[85] "The regiment of Gatinois was made up from the regiment of Auvergne, and was to lead the attack. The Count de Rochambeau said to the grenadiers: My boys, if I have need of you to-night, I hope you will not forget *Auvergne sans tache*, an honorable epithet of this regiment, which it has merited on all occasions. They replied that they would be killed to a man; and at the same time asked to have their old name restored. They behaved in a manner worthy of the highest praise; and the king has since by an ordinance, given this regiment the name of Royal Auvergne. M. de Sireuil, captain of chasseurs, was wounded, and died of his wounds." *Histoire des Troubles de l'Amérique Anglaise.* Paris, 1787, iii. 395.

attack has cost in all nearly one hundred men; but it will reflect the greatest honor on the Count William des Deuxponts, M. de L'Estrade, the Count de Rostaing, and the officers and troops who have been engaged in it. There were joy and confidence before sallying out, silence, energy, and difficulties overcome during the attack, much order and humanity after the success.

General, this is what I have seen of the nation, and of the grenadiers of Deuxponts, after twenty years of peace; and this is what I am happy to announce to you.

I ought also to speak to you of two sergeants of the regiment of Gatinois, whom I had particularly charged to march at ten paces in front of the grenadiers, to reconnoitre and to show the ways or the points the most favorable to clear the abatis, — the two men who have both been preserved, have so well justified that which the Baron de L'Estrade had told me of their intelligence and of their bravery, that I consider it a duty to mention them with distinction; and I pray you not to refuse that I should have the honor of presenting them to you to-morrow morning. MM. de Vauban and de La Meth, commissioned by you and M. de Béville to be at this attack, and the Count de Damas, whose reputation, pure and well-known zeal, had alone prompted him to be there, entered the redoubt with the first grenadiers, and everywhere showed themselves to be true paladins. They have the essence of courage, which will some day be a fine example for the soldiers whom they will be charged to lead, and certainly of the greatest utility for the service of the King. The Chevalier de La Meth was wounded very seriously in both legs, after having mounted the parapet.

MM. de Viomesnil, de St. Amand, de Chabannes, de Brentano, Desoteux, and de Pange, my aides-de-camp, have

deserved to be mentioned in general and in particular, for their distinguished conduct at that attack, and their promptness in the execution of the orders I gave them during the night.

The Chevalier de Menonville, aide-major-general, having himself led two hundred workmen of the regiment of Soissonnois, who were going to push the second parallel as far as the redoubt carried by the Count William des Deuxponts. This work has been so well performed, under the direction of the Chevalier Doiré, so near the enemy, and so promptly, that I consider it just to give ten sous extra to each of the workmen. MM. de Turpin,[86] and de Gouvion,[87] worked with the same success between the captured redoubts, and at the communication of the first and second parallel of the Americans.

The artillery had done wonders during the whole time which preceded the two attacks. M. d'Aboville and the commanders of batteries have even surpassed themselves in preparing for the success.

I do not yet know the loss of the Americans; when the Marquis de Lafayette and the Baron de Steuben shall have sent me the particulars, I shall hasten to address you; according to what they tell me, their loss is not much.[88]

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[86] A captain of engineers, who made the drawings of the Natural Bridge in Virginia, for the second volume of Chastellux's *Travels*.

[87] Brevetted colonel by Congress, Nov. 16, 1781, for distinguished conduct at the siege of Yorktown.

[88] "The cause of the great loss sustained by the French troops, in comparison with that of the Americans, in storming their respective redoubts, was that the American troops, when they came to the abattis, removed a part of it with their hands, and leaped over the remainder. The French troops, on coming up to theirs, waited till their pioneers had cut away the abattis, secundum artem, which exposed them longer

The Count William has been wounded in the face, though slightly; his conduct has been so brilliant, and his bravery so distinguished and so decisive, that I pray you, General, to obtain from the favor of the King for him the rank of brigadier.

I ask you to procure the same rank for the Baron de L'Estrade, who has served for more than forty years, and who has given an example to the grenadiers and chasseurs of his regiment, worthy of the highest eulogy. The Count de Rostaing, colonel since the year 1770, being also very distinguished, if you would ask for him the rank of brigadier, I am persuaded that it will not be refused.

General Washington having appeared satisfied at the success of our attacks, there will remain to me nothing more to desire, if you will add your approbation of all that was done, during the time of my service in the trenches.

I have the honor to be, with the most respectful attachment, general,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

[Signed] VIOMESNIL.

Letter which was written to me by the Minister of War, on my return to France.

VERSAILLES, 5 December, 1781.

Upon the account, Monsieur, which I have given to the King, of the valor and courage with which you have conducted yourself at the head of the grenadiers, which you commanded at the attack on a redoubt at Yorktown, his Majesty, to show you his full satisfaction, has deigned to

to the galling fire of the enemy." Dr. Thacher's *Military Journal.* 2d ed., p. 276.

give you a place of chevalier in the military order of St. Louis, by special distinction, as you have not served the requisite time to be eligible. He accords to you, besides the assurance of one of the first regiments of dragoons, as soon as there is a vacancy. I pray you to be persuaded of the pleasure I take in announcing to you these favors.

I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

[Signed] SÉGUR.

APPENDIX.

We give below the places of encampment, occupied by the French army on its way from Newport to Yorktown. It marched by regiments from Providence to Newtown, Conn., and thence by brigades. The dates refer to the encampments of the regiment, or of the brigade, to which Count William de Deux-Ponts belonged. The table does not differ materially from the route laid down by the Abbé Robin, in his *Nouveau Voyage*, pp. 222–4. According to his dates, the Abbé must have accompanied the regiment of Soisonnois.

June 10–18,	Providence.
BY REGIMENTS.	
" 19,	Waterman's Tavern.
" 20,	Plainfield.
" 21,	Windham.
" 22,	Bolton.
" 23–25,	Hartford.
" 26,	Farmington.
" 27,	Baron's Tavern.
" 28,	Break Neck.
" 29, 30,	Newtown.
BY BRIGADES.	
July 1,	Ridgebury.
" 2,	Bedford.
" 3–5,	North Castle.
" 6–20,	Phillipsburg.
" 21,	on the march.
" 22,	near King's Bridge.
" 23 to Aug. 18,	Phillipsburg.
Aug. 19,	near Alexander Lark's.
" 20,	Leguid's Tavern.
" 21,	Hound's Tavern.
" 22, 23,	Verplanck's Point.
" 24,	Haverstraw.
Aug. 25,	Sufferns.
" 26,	Pompton.
" 27, 28,	Hanover or Whippany.
" 29,	Bullions' Tavern.
" 30,	Somerset.
" 31,	Princeton.
Sept. 1,	Trenton.
" 2,	Red Lion Tavern.
" 3, 4,	Philadelphia.
" 5,	Chester.
" 6,	Wilmington.
" 7, 8,	Elkton.
" 9,	near the Ferry over the Susquehanna.
" 10,	Bush, Harford County.
" 11,	White Marsh.
" 12–15,	Baltimore.
" 16,	Spurrier's Tavern.
" 17,	Scott's Plantation.
" 18–21,	Annapolis.
" 22–24,	on board ships.
" 25,	near Hogs Ferry.
" 26, 27,	Williamsburg.
" 28,	front of Yorktown.

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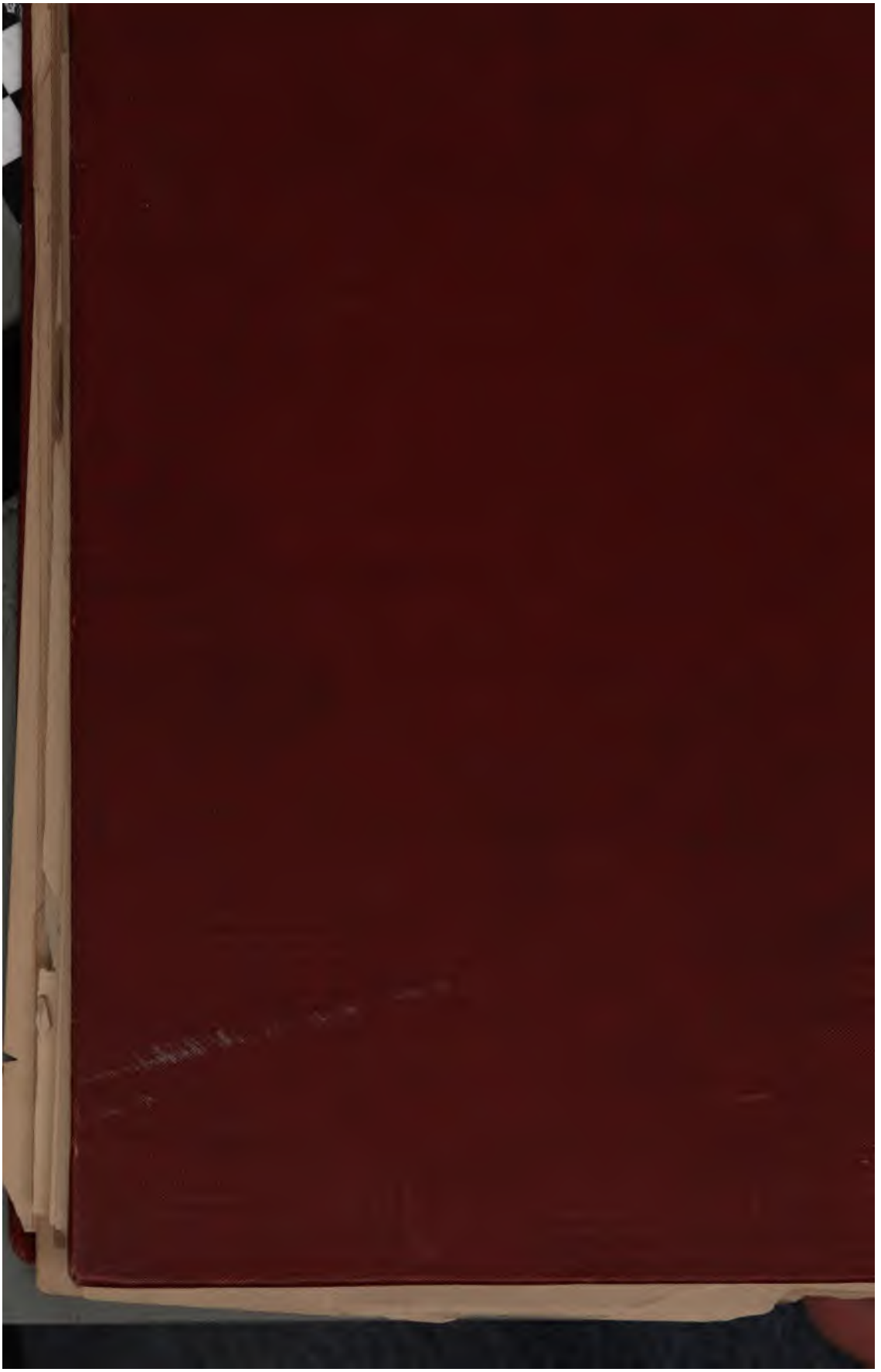
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